Abd-el-Krim Rides Again—*Del Vayo*

THE Nation

March 25, 1950

The Attack on the Intellect

BY EDWARD U. CONDON

*

Politics of Cotton

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

*

Austrian Chessboard

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*

Special Music Section

JACQUES BARZUN, B. H. HAGGIN, AND OTHERS

MAR 24 1950

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 170 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 25, 1950 NUMBER 12

The Shape of Things

THE FINAL EFFECT OF MR. ACHESON'S TWO California speeches cannot yet be estimated. Carefully thought out and designed for a purpose, they may make or help to break the Administration's foreign policy—and possibly Mr. Acheson himself. For they were aimed at America more than at Russia, and their double objective was to deflect the attacks of the Republicans, who have been trying by means both fair and very foul to undermine the Secretary of State and his Department, and to convince friendly critics like Senator McMahon that in the present state of things overtures to the Russians would be positively harmful. Moscow may have helped Mr. Acheson's case by its hostile reaction to his seven-point address in Berkeley. But if the speech persuaded some doubters that talk is useless, it must have made other Americans question whether the Secretary really meant business when he set down his conditions for peaceful coexistence or was merely itemizing his reasons for disliking and distrusting Moscow methods. The seven points not only call for something like a counter-revolution in Russia; they also ignore many complicating factors, outside of Soviet wrong-headedness, that stand in the way of a settlement. Even on the basic issue of the peace treaties, serious obstacles exist in Washington as well as in Moscow. What Mr. Acheson is plainly trying to do is to defend his total-diplomacy position and discourage current peace efforts. We do not believe he will succeed with the sort of speeches he made on the Coast. His enemies on the right will not be appeased, while the supporters of new efforts toward an agreement are unlikely to accept the seven points as a conclusive set of terms.

*

BELGIUM'S SOCIALISTS HAVE PROVIDED proof that there remains in European socialism enough fighting spirit to spike the theory that outside the Communist movement all is resignation and inaction. By announcing their decision to call a general strike, if necessary, to prevent King Leopold's return to the throne, they have put all the bourgeois parties in a very difficult position. This move strengthened the determination of the Liberal Party not to enter any Cabinet combination as long as the royal question remains unsettled, leaving exclusively to the Catholic Social Christian party the responsibility for plunging the country into one of the most bitter internal struggles of the last fifty years. There remains the possibility that a few dissenting Liberals may join with the Catholics to form a pro-Leopold cabinet, but in that event severe civil disturbances are assured. Among the Catholic party's leaders, even former Premier Gaston Eyskens was originally against a Catholic minority government, whose first task would be to shoot down the workers for the benefit of a man regarded as a deserter by almost half the population. It was Albert de Vleeschauer, the violently reactionary Minister of the Interior, apparently ready to go to any lengths to restore his idol to the throne, who finally forced the issue. While the Prime Minister was counseling moderation, De Vleeschauer was reliably reported to have been in contact with the King from Brussels, urging him not to yield to the advice of the Premier. Suggestions that the King merely wants to save his face and is prepared, once he is installed, to renounce the throne in favor of his son, Prince Baudouin, were received skeptically by so cautious a politician as Paul-Henri Spaak. Under the pressure of the Socialist rank and file, M. Spaak has reverted to his Jacobin origins and firmly opposes the King's return. In every respect, the Belgian crisis is a fascinating incident and a healthy sign of democratic revival.

*

UNWITTINGLY, SENATOR McCARTHY MAY BE doing the country a real service after all. So flimsy have his charges turned out to be and so shabby his conduct that he has happily injured the political usefulness of the smear technique. It is even possible that he has brought about a popular revulsion against the privilege whereby members of Congress may advance their political fortunes by ruining the lives and reputations of citizens without let or hindrance from the law. To sustain his grotesque charge that the State Department has fifty-seven card-holding Communists in its employ, the Wisconsin Senator has been trickling names before a Senate subcommittee. But, faced with a demand for evidence, he no longer even pretends that his victims answer the advance description. It is enough that at one time or another they addressed groups that were subsequently labeled subversive or that their names appeared on letterheads along with others thought to be Communists. Judge Dorothy Kenyon, the first person who has had an opportunity to answer McCarthy under oath, made such mincemeat of his charges that Repub-

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 261
Rape of the Constitution 263

ARTICLES
Cold Civil War *by Our Paris Correspondent* 264
Abd-el-Krim Rides Again *by Del Vayo* 266
The Attack on the Intellect *by Edward U. Condon* 267
Segregation and the Law *by Thomas I. Emerson* 269
The Politics of Cotton *by Carey McWilliams* 271
Looking Backward 272
Old vs. New at Taos *by R. L. Chambers* 273
Austria—International Chessboard *by Alexander Werth* 274
The Nerve War *Cartoon by David Low* 275
Everybody's Business: Spain's Warped Economy *by Keith Hutchison* 277

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
The Spirit of Berlioz' Music *by Jacques Barzun* 278
Portrait of a Critic *by B. H. Haggin* 280
Making of the Orchestra *by Charles B. Farrell* 283
Two Poles of Modern Musical Thought *by Harold Brown* 284
Chopin Centennial *by Robert E. Garis* 285
Books in Brief 287

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 287

CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO. 355 *by Frank W. Lewis* 288

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
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Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1950, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year; Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

lican Senator Hickenlooper, a member of the subcommittee, was left without "the least belief" that she had been "in any way subversive or disloyal." To accomplish the same purpose, John Stewart Service, an American diplomat now en route to India with his family and belongings, will have to return immediately upon landing. Service has satisfied a grand jury and the FBI of his innocence, but now he must disrupt his mission to answer once more what Under Secretary of State Peurifoy calls "dead, discredited, and disproven charges." The immunity of legislators from prosecution for slander and libel is of basic importance in our system of government, but Congress itself must be made to see that the time is long past due for steps to prevent the wanton abuse of this privilege by unscrupulous politicians.

*

WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THE HISTORIC tradition that the United States Senate is the most exclusive gentleman's club in the world? The elaborate politeness of the members, for generations the fixed rule of behavior, is giving way to personal abuse that would once have shocked the country. Rule Nineteen of the Senate provides that "No Senator in debate shall . . . impute to another Senator . . . any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming a Senator." But recently we have heard Senator Eastland flatly accuse Senator Lehman of "very unethical conduct." We have heard him conclude a tirade on the Displaced Persons bill with the words: "I say again that the statements made by the Senator from New York are a tissue of falsehoods . . . deliberately made." Senator McCarthy branded a committee of his colleagues "a tool of the State Department," leaving Senator McMahon "profoundly shocked." And Senator Jenner warmly supported the clerk of a subcommittee when that hired official had the effrontery to make dark innuendoes about members who had signed the subcommittee's minority report. When Senator Kilgore demanded to know whether Jenner meant that "any money had changed hands," the Indiana Republican banged the desk and shouted that a "$1,000,000 lobby" was operating to liberalize the D. P. bill. The old tradition of gentility provided a lubricant in the transaction of legislative business, and veteran Senators are said to be worried about the deteriorating standards of behavior. In France and Italy it is the Communists who make a brawling shambles of parliamentary government. In this sense, at any rate, the Eastlands, McCarthys, and Jenners promise to be the Communists of the United States Senate.

*

FOURTEEN MILES FROM PHOENIX, IN THE heart of the rich Salt River Valley, juvenile court authorities recently found 150 destitute families stranded in a labor camp. In the camp, once operated

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by the federal government but now controlled by the Arizona Farm Bureau, there were over one hundred children from seventeen months to eleven years of age, some of whom had gone without nourishment for ten days or more. One father had walked sixteen miles to Buckeye, Arizona, stopping at farms along the way in a vain search for employment; another had been selling his blood to buy food for his children. The government reports that no funds are available to meet Arizona's request for $100,000 for the relief of these families and that although surplus foods are available, they cannot be transported to Arizona because no funds were appropriated to pay distribution costs. Most of these D. P.'s are stranded cotton pickers; it would be interesting to learn what Arizona cotton growers received from the government in subsidies last year and by how much this sum exceeded $100,000.

✶

A MONTH AGO WE REPORTED IN THESE columns that the navy was attempting to make informers of students applying for its Reserve Officer Training Corps. Applicants were asked to give the names of any persons they might know of who had been associated with supposedly subversive organizations. Objections were made by a number of reserve officers, and Americans for Democratic Action lodged a sharp protest with Louis Johnson, Secretary of Defense. It is refreshing to learn that the obnoxious clause is being eliminated from the application forms and that an American boy may again aspire to become a naval officer without first having to qualify as a stool pigeon.

✶

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL WAS CERTAINLY a woman of her time. First and last a fighter for women's rights, her immense energy and interest carried her into a dozen fields of work and kept her in touch with contemporary affairs almost to the end of her long life. Yet she served as a link with another age as well as a vital participant in this one. Child of the famous suffragists and abolitionists Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, Alice Blackwell symbolized for all who knew her the great age of reform and emancipation that flourished in New England in the last half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of this one. Among the advanced group to which she belonged, the freedom of women was tied firmly to that of Negroes, and both were intimately bound up with the emerging concept of workers' rights and general social welfare. As journalist and lecturer, Alice Blackwell labored for all those causes and to them she added a passionate interest in the oppressed peoples of other countries, particularly the Armenians, Jews, and Russians. Somehow she found the time and energy to master the languages of these three peoples and translated their poetry for publication in America. Her death has ended an amazing career; it also marks the end of an amazing generation.

✶

THE FOUR YOUNG IDAHO INDIANS sentenced to eleven years each in prison for stealing one sheep [*The Nation*, December 17, 1949] are to have an appeal heard on their case. The Association on American Indian Affairs, filing a brief *amicus curiae*, asserts that the youths were denied due process of law in the lower court, citing their lack of counsel and the conduct of the prosecutor. J. Morey O'Donnell, prosecutor of Latah County, has now admitted "surprise and shock" at the severe punishment meted out by seventy-five-year-old Judge Albert L. Morgan. Indignation among both Indians and whites is high, and O'Donnell's new attitude may be influenced by the fact that this is an election year. Judge Morgan insists that under Idaho's indeterminate-sentence law he was compelled to give the Indians the maximum penalty; the statute is just as specific in granting judges the power to parole offenders and suspend sentence. Historians of the future will no doubt be puzzled by the fact that these four Indians received the identical penalty for stealing a $12 sheep that Klaus Fuchs got in a British court for betraying atomic secrets.

✶

THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE NEW COLUMN Dangerous Thoughts, scheduled for this issue, has been postponed for one week because of the illness of the contributor whose article was to start the series.

Rape of the Constitution

SENATOR MUNDT is with us again. The man who two years ago tried to commit the most sweeping legislative assault on the Constitution since the Alien and Sedition laws is back for another try. The House, in a burst of pre-election demagogy, passed the Mundt-Nixon bill in 1948, but it was too raw for the Senate to swallow, even in the Eightieth Congress. Last week, however, it was the Senate Judiciary Committee that gave its blessing to substantially the same bill, with Langer of North Dakota the lone dissenter. Subsequently, we are relieved to learn, Senators Kefauver, Kilgore, and Magnuson decided they had made a mistake and indicated their opposition to the measure.

How these three, good liberals all, could ever have been in the slightest doubt about the Mundt bill is beyond our understanding, assuming they gave it their serious attention. Mundt insists that it "does not outlaw

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the Communist Party" but merely compels it "to come out of the slimy darkness of its underground cells and either dissolve its conspiracy, operate in the open, or run into conflict with the law." With the general objective of eliminating conspiracy, we are, needless to say, in sympathy. But the methods provided by Senator Mundt are nothing less than a rape of Anglo-Saxon law. In its preamble the measure makes what amounts to a legislative finding that the Communist Party is an agent of a foreign power and that it seeks conspiratorially to overthrow the American government. The finding may well be correct but, as Langer pointed out, guilt by legislative fiat is abhorrent to American law and a flat violation of the constitutional requirement of due process.

A subversive-activities control board, consisting of three members appointed by the President, would have the right under the proposed law to order the listing of any organization as a Communist political association or as a Communist front, whereupon all members of the former and all officers of the latter would be obliged to register with the Attorney General. Members of organizations refusing to register would be subject to prosecution. Listed organizations would have to label their mail and radio broadcasts as Communist in origin. Legal review would be provided only in the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, which would be a problem, to say the least, for a wronged individual who happened to live in Seattle or Honolulu. Passports and appointive federal jobs would be denied to all Communists, and no member of a listed organization would even be allowed to run for elective office if he had concealed his membership.

Whatever the Senator may say, the enactment of his bill would in effect outlaw the Communist Party, and anyone who thinks that this would be an undiluted blessing knows nothing whatever of the dangerous techniques open to an underground movement. As fast as an organization is listed by the Attorney General, moreover, it could bob up with another name and a set of by-laws decked out in more sweet-sounding rhetoric than the Soviet constitution itself.

Far more important than this question of the legislation's effectiveness is the price we would pay for its dubious achievements. If the Mundt bill becomes law, we will have substituted a Congressional bill of attainder for trial by law. We will have exposed ourselves to prosecution and harassment solely on the basis of what a government board may decide is subversive. We will have abandoned completely the doctrine that guilt is personal and not the result of association. And we will have invited a future Administration to outlaw, by the same device, whatever party or group it may find inconvenient to its purposes.

Neither the present Supreme Court nor any in our history, we believe, would for a moment sustain this legislative monstrosity. The shock is that any Senator should attempt such violence to the Constitution he is sworn to uphold.

Cold Civil War

Paris, March 12

OUR correspondent writes: Four ushers of the National Assembly had to be treated at the infirmary for "severe injuries," M. de Menthon, parliamentary leader of the M. R. P., had to take to bed "with internal injuries," and M. Arthaud, a Communist, was knocked out. The debate on M. Bidault's bill against sabotage and "demoralization of the army" went on almost without a break for nearly three solid days and nights, and some ten hours out of the sixty were taken up with what the *Journal Officiel* calls "*tumulte*," that is, fist fights, complete with the invasion of the Assembly by 200 Republican Guards, the "occupation" of the tribune—despite protests from Edouard Herriot, President of the Assembly—by a number of Communist deputies, and the forcible expulsion of two of them for twenty days. *Figaro* argued editorially that these "disgraceful scenes" should finally convince the last supporters of proportional representation—notably the M. R. P.—that a new election law must be agreed upon which would all but eliminate Communists in the next Parliament.

Despite the comic treatment given these energetic proceedings in some foreign papers, the debate was, in reality, one of the most important ever to have taken place in the National Assembly—and the fact that *voyou, crétin, dégénéré*, and similar epithets were freely exchanged was only a by-product of the discussion itself. This dealt with many fundamentals: the attitude of the French people toward the Atlantic Pact and the war in Viet Nam, the burning question of strikes and wages, the government's right to withhold information for "reasons of State"—this apropos the *affaire* Revers. There had, clearly, been an attempt on the part of M. Ramadier, then Minister of War, to hush up the scandal which would compromise "certain high officers of the French army," not only in the eyes of the French public, but, above all, in the eyes of France's allies.

There is no doubt that the Communists represent the interests of Moscow, and one of the important features of the debate was the fact that they made no secret of it. As one of them said: "In the past, progressive men used to say: '*J'ai deux patries, le mien et puis la France*'; so today every progressive man, with the interests of his own country at heart, has two countries, his own and the Soviet Union." And yet, while playing Moscow's game, the Communists brought out argument after ar-

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gument highly embarrassing to the rest of the Assembly, and these often produced no response other than the usual cries of "A Moscou!," "Salauds!," "Vendus!," and the like.

Is there, indeed, an answer to Patinaud's allegation that many old people receive an old-age pension of $5 a month? Or that a very high proportion of wage-earners are being paid less than 10,000 francs ($24) a month? Or that certain dockers who refused to load arms for Viet Nam have had their dockers' cards taken away from them by the police, and so been deprived of their livelihood? Or that the highly paid G. R. S. (*Garde Republicaine Securité*) troops—continuously referred to by the Communists as the "S. S."—tend to provoke strikers and so provide unnecessary incidents and clashes? On the other hand, the Communists were strictly on the wrong side of the law when they glorified certain acts of sabotage: the recent incident at Nice, for example, where a Communist "commando" swept the police aside and threw a V-2 installation, about to be shipped to North Africa, into the sea.

Nothing is easier than to demonstrate that the Communists, worshippers of the Soviet Union, are defending various kinds of indiscipline and riotous behavior while demanding guaranties of democratic freedom which would not, even in one's wildest dreams, be granted in Stalin's Russia. They were particularly weak in arguing that French rules do not apply in a non-capitalist society and that the Soviet government was quite right to send saboteurs of the Socialist order to labor camps. But the fact remains that much of their criticism was valid.

There was a significant dialogue, toward the end of the debate, between a Socialist and a Communist. The Socialist said that the refusal to ship arms to Viet Nam would mean, in the end, that the French expeditionary force there would be left at the mercy of the Viet Minh troops. The Socialist Party was dead set against the war in Viet Nam, but since the government had decided to continue that conflict, one must continue to arm. The Communist replied that if the Socialists, instead of expressing pious wishes about Viet Nam, had only acted as energetically as themselves, "we could have put an end to the war long ago." The Communists know that the bulk of French opinion hates the war because (a) it stinks of colonialism, (b) it costs at least $360,000,000 a year, which could be used more profitably at home, and (c) it might, now that America is taking an interest, land France in appalling international complications—and for what? The old French aversion to pulling anybody's chestnuts out of the fire is very skilfully exploited.

Courtesy *Figaro*

HERRIOT to BIDAULT: ". . . and as soon as I finished cadet training, I went to graduate school."

The real tragedy of France today is that there is nothing here like the Labor Party. The Communists' motives are profoundly suspect, and yet they, and not the Socialists, are the ones who speak up boldly in defense of all the "good causes." Will they, like the British Communists, see the electorate turn against them? Will they lose their hold on the French working class? M. Paul Reynaud, now in America, has been cheerfully telling his hosts that the Communists will "disappear" in France. But will they, if no other powerful left-wing party takes their place? The anti-sabotage law, as amended by the Socialists, is no doubt justified, since it provides a legal weapon for dealing with certain cold-war stunts which are not covered by legislation other than several war-time emergency measures carrying the death penalty. But what is worrying all left-wing opinion is how this and other laws are going to be applied. There was some truth in the Communist charge that the free use of G. R. S. troops in dealing with strikers was apt to turn almost any professional strike into a political strike—the idea being that "political" strikes are, somehow, illegal. When a strike was called by all three trade-union federations—only one of them Communist—in the Paris gas and light industry, the government commandeered the workers of the power stations and virtually broke this essentially non-political strike.

The Communist-dominated C. G. T. (*Conféderation Generale du Travail*) is now denouncing the "treason" of the Socialist and Catholic trade-union leadership as an aftermath to the abortive Metro strike. Wherever possible, the government intends to make the greatest use of the differences between the various unions, but there also appears to be an alarming tendency to treat all strikers as "Communist agitators." *Figaro* generously agrees that those earning only $14.40 a month ought to be given a raise, but apart from that, the Bidault government is firm in its opposition to a general increase, and is not encouraging employers to be generous.

Despite all the nice speeches made in London at the time of Auriol's visit, French democracy is becoming singularly unlike the British democracy of "fair shares." The bourgeoisie's hatred of communism is often only a label for their hatred of the working class, an old French custom that is dying hard.

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Del Vayo—Abd-el-Krim Rides Again

IN A recent interview at Cairo C. L. Sulzberger of the New York *Times* turned the spotlight on a figure who has lately emerged from obscurity to challenge the rule of France and Spain in North Africa. That figure is the warlike Abd-el-Krim el Khatabi, former rebel chieftain of the Riff and now head of the National Liberation Committee which, he claims, represents some 25,000,000 Moroccans. A quarter of a century ago Abd-el-Krim led a fierce and bloody struggle against the colonial powers, commanding fanatics who took full advantage of a terrain ideally suited to guerrilla tactics. The Riff war was most unpopular in Spain, costing the country millions of pesetas and leaving in the arid soil of Morocco the bodies of tens of thousands of young Spaniards. There was even a moment when Primo de Rivera declared: "I . . . will hold only the edge of this territory. Personally, I favor withdrawing entirely from Morocco and letting Abd-el-Krim have it."

A joint action by Spain and France finally defeated Abd-el-Krim and on May 27, 1926, he surrendered to the French. Today he hopes to capitalize on the new anti-colonial feeling and on the tremendous hatred of Franco which permeate Morocco. He sees himself as part of the great if relatively unknown movement for independence that is gripping the entire African continent.

Rarely does the international press give space to a detailed report on the awakening of Africa. The drive for emancipation set in motion by the victory of the Allies is generally represented as one more sign of Communist penetration. But the great promises of the forties—the Atlantic Charter, the declarations at Yalta, the Charter of San Francisco offering freedom and equality to men of all races—found an echo not only in more advanced centers such as Saint Louis and Dakar but also in the districts where even the most rudimentary education, largely in the hands of missionaries, has been limited to an insignificant handful of the population. Africans heard talk of liberty and social justice while they still lived under a system of forced labor so severe that, despite war-time discipline, outbreaks occurred in regions with many workers, like the Ivory Coast.

In 1944, when Allied victory seemed assured and thought was already being given to the France of tomorrow, a conference was held at Brazzaville in French Equatorial Africa for the purpose of planning a more democratic colonial policy. The reforms agreed upon affected the administration of justice, the elimination of abuses by private interests, and the whole administrative structure of the colonies. Forced labor was to be abolished, though only after a period of five years during which gradual adjustments were to be made. Obviously, the plan was inadequate from the African point of view, but in the revolutionary concept of the "French Union" many native leaders saw a transition from the old system of exploitation to an association of free peoples.

"It is as free men that we wish to come into the French Union, or we will not be free at all," declared the eloquent African spokesman, Houphouet-Boigny, when on April 11, 1946, he presented to the Constituent Assembly his resolution for the suppression of forced labor. I heard this speech before the Assembly—a memorable appeal which certain French editorials compared with the historic decree of 1848 abolishing slavery. The new Constitution of the Fourth Republic included this progressive concept in its preamble, and the great issue appeared to have been settled.

Unfortunately, in practice the Brazzville reforms were largely nullified by powerful interests in the colonies and by an obsolete bureaucracy. In a counter move the "Rassemblement Démocratique Africain" was founded and M. Houphouet-Boigny himself became its president. Houphouet-Boigny is a rich planter of coffee and cocoa, a member of an old family of native chieftains, who poses as a devout Catholic and wants to have it known that he helps support the Catholic missions. That has not saved the R. D. A. from being stamped as Communist, and the fact that its deputies in the French Parliament usually vote with Thorez has given color to this charge. Nevertheless, the movement includes not only Communists but Catholics and Moslems who are fundamentally hostile to Moscow but justify their collaboration by saying that only from that side do they get understanding and support. Until now there has been no separatist movement in Negro Africa. The Africans under the leadership of the R. D. A. wish to remain within the French Union—but so did Ho Chi Minh four years ago, before events in Indo-China induced him to turn against France and seek the aid of Russia. In view of the possibility that tomorrow Abd-el-Krim may also be described as a mere puppet of Moscow, it would be well to remember the words he addressed to Mr. Sulzberger: "We recognize communism as a danger to us as Arabs and Moslems and we want complete independence from everyone. But in a critical situation, if we go to war, we will accept support from any quarter, even the Soviet Union."

The Franco press pretends to treat Abd-el-Krim's new claims with contempt, seizing the opportunity to blame France for having authorized his return to Europe in 1947 from exile on Union Island. Further, it accuses pro-Communist elements in the French administration of having permitted him to walk off the ship at Port Said and enter Egypt, where he was received by King Farouk more as a colleague than as a refugee. Franco, who began his military career in the Moroccan war, may use his Moorish Guards with their colorful uniforms and magnificent horses to dazzle American Senators and other foreign dignitaries. But in his heart he remains the cruel colonial soldier. No one can doubt that today Franco is deeply concerned over the reappearance of Abd-el-Krim. Not the least of his worries is the thought that it may alienate the support of the Arab states in the United Nations which, with the votes of the Latin American countries ruled by dictatorships on the Franco model, have constituted the bulk of his partisans in former sessions of the General Assembly.

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The Attack on the Intellect

BY EDWARD U. CONDON

SCIENTISTS have probably suffered more than any other group from the post-war loyalty hysteria. The cautious and conservative American Association for the Advancement of Science reported recently:

> There is at present a tendency in public thinking to relate scientific activity almost wholly to military activity exposing scientists more than most occupational groups to sustained and stringent limitations upon their professional freedom.

The success of science in warfare has undeniably emphasized its military value to the detriment of larger aspects. But this development is only part of a complex pattern in which intolerance and anti-intellectualism are major elements. More specifically, the attacks on science have been abetted by those who saw in them a means of acquiring publicity for themselves. International tension and visions of apocalyptic atomic warfare have set the stage for such tactics, but it is doubtful whether the public is as distraught as some would have us believe.

We should not ignore the thread of intolerance in our history, for it helps to explain events that otherwise appear totally unrelated to our democratic past and points to the need for constant vigilance. The hanging of witches in Salem, the censorship of books in Boston continuing to this day, the intolerance of racial groups, varying in different periods, are examples. Anti-intellectualism has been equally persistent though less directly apprehended. Perhaps its most obvious manifestation is found in our concept of success; it is also explicitly revealed in derogatory attitudes toward learning.

Partly because our nation is still young—although maturity is certainly called for now—there has been undue emphasis on doing as against thinking, an emphasis which needs no apologies in a pioneering period but which now calls for reappraisal. Our concept of success, as an extension of our devotion to action, has been one of materialism. The intellectual is suspect, for success in the material sense is not his goal, nor does he pursue the so-called active life. The popular idea of the cloistered professor, however, is largely a myth. He is active in a variety of fields, ranging from business to science, not merely interested in theories but in their practical applications. Yet the belief that the intellectual, the theoretician, and the academician are not made of the stuff of practicality dies hard.

DR. CONDON is director of the National Bureau of Standards.

The intellectual among us is accorded neither the social prestige nor the remuneration which he has had in Europe. Whereas the entrance of European professors into public life is accepted without question, quite the contrary is often true here. One Boston politician has effectively used an anti-Harvard plank in his platform, and an alumnus of Harvard—not a professor—belittled his academic training in his campaign for public office.

THESE tendencies toward intolerance and anti-intellectualism have fostered the abridgment of scientific freedom in this country. In both Germany and Italy such abridgment was the forerunner of far more vicious usurpations of civil rights. The burning of books, the expulsion of professors from universities because they were "non-Aryans" or anti-Nazi, the flight of the best scientists to other countries were followed by evil actions affecting a larger part of the population. More recently the authoritarians in Russia have taken to playing politics with science, blessing one theory in genetics in preference to another because they think it has more suitable Marxist connotations.

If the attack on scientific freedom succeeds here, the productivity of scientific research will be diminished—unless we abandon democracy and adopt totalitarian methods, in which case, though applications of science might be forced successfully, no great original contributions could be expected. Proof of this is not too exact, but it is at least as clear as the argument that business taxes should be lowered because capital is not likely to be ventured if the chances for profit are greatly limited by high taxes. Why should we expect scientists to hazard their reputations in activities where reasonable freedom is lacking and the danger of groundless attack only too real? That the invention of new weapons will suffer is extremely probable, but neither the government nor the public is likely to appreciate this until too late. The extent of the danger is not at present recognizable, since the damage will appear at some future time as loss of leadership in scientific advances.

Where science is directly related to defense, scientists do not ask for a lax policy; they desire adequate secrecy measures. What they cannot tolerate is the attitude of some politicians that scientists are *per se* less trustworthy than other citizens. Nor can they accept procedures that are unnecessarily cumbersome and time-consuming, or the use of hearsay in the evaluation of their integrity.

Feelings of anxiety and insecurity have established the mood in which attacks on the constitutional liberties of

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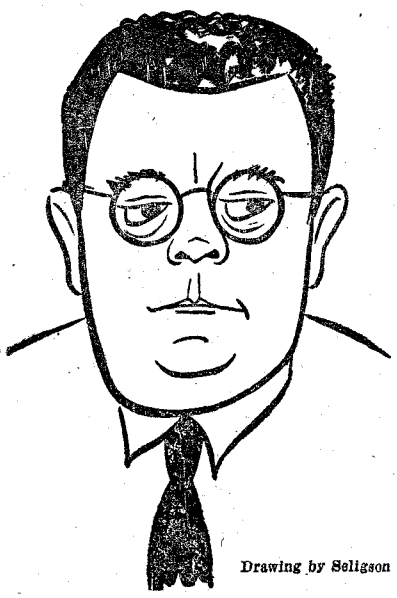

Drawing by Seligson

Edward U. Condon

scientists can be made with ease. Yet there is still no evidence that any scientific secrets of this nation have been betrayed by Americans, either scientists or non-scientists. In spite of the large number of insinuations directed against them by politicians, no case against any American scientist has ever been formulated for proper court action.

Large areas of science—most of the basic research in all fields—have no connection with military weapons. Unless this is recognized, unfortunate restrictions on the freedom of the scientist are inevitable. Such restrictions are of burning interest not only to scientists but to everybody else, for they are signs of an attitude which is inimical to the general maintenance of freedom.

Restrictions, once initiated, tend to be applied more broadly than was at first intended. Thus preoccupation with the necessity for secrecy regarding weapons has led, not the military, but civilians—ignorant of both the scientific and military needs—to suggest restricting the publication of research even on topics which are not military by nature or implication. Editors of several scientific journals which publish material totally unrelated to military matters were approached recently by a civilian from a non-military agency of the government with the suggestion that all manuscripts be submitted to this agency for "clearance." Fortunately, the editors emphatically rejected the idea, but constant vigilance will be required to ward off other attempts of the same kind. The proposal reveals that in certain quarters the military are believed to be incompetent in matters involving secrecy, since research papers dealing with military matters are at present subject to clearance by appropriate military authorities. Those who made it had evidently no understanding of the methods of science or of the ways in which future progress is most readily assured. Nor did they realize that only a small portion of science is related to military developments.

SOME people seem to feel that we can dispense with any more science on the ground that society cannot intelligently cope with the powers that science has already given us. But how can we dispense with advances in basic research unless we abandon the quest for a better understanding of nature? And if we refuse to go farther in the natural sciences, how can we hope to progress in social science? Criticism of applied science is thoroughly specious. Are we to forego progress in biology, medicine, agriculture, and engineering because science has also furnished us with tools of destruction? Certainly some of the causes of conflict in the world are related to disease, exhausted soils, lack of food, and lack of cheap power. Their elimination depends on further application of science and further research. Indiscriminate murder, moreover, has never required scientific weapons. Genghis Khan and Adolf Hitler slaughtered millions without the aid of the atomic bomb.

In the past, science has suffered less interference than many other human activities, but history does not record unhindered progress. Galileo and Copernicus had their troubles, and not long ago the teaching of evolution was the subject of a court trial in this country. But by and large science has been let alone, possibly because it was regarded as of secondary importance in the world. Its flowering in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was a direct result of this tolerance. That it is now receiving political attention indicates that it is playing a more decisive role in public affairs.

If science is now to be put in a defensive position, thought control must already be well started. It is not a matter of actual injunctions, laws, penalties; no more than a stifling atmosphere of prejudice, ill-will, and stupidity is needed to hamper intellectual, moral, and spiritual progress. The words of Albert Schweitzer are fully appropriate:

> But today in addition to that neglect of thought there is also prevalent a mistrust of it. The organized political, social, and religious associations of our time are at work to induce the individual man not to arrive at his convictions by his own thinking but to make his own such convictions as they keep ready made for him. Any man who thinks for himself and at the same time is spiritually free is to them something inconvenient and even uncanny. He does not offer sufficient guaranty that he will merge himself in their organization in the way they wish.

A static satisfaction with what has already been achieved has unhappy effects in many fields and is fatal to science. Those responsible for the national defense will be the first to feel the effect of a science frozen and stopped in its tracks. Now that the Russians have the atomic bomb, the situation is again in a state of flux with respect to science and scientists. This could lead to a more sensible appreciation of the problems with which we are confronted. Or it could lead to a senseless revival of witch-hunting, which can only produce confusion and bickering—tantamount to a confession of weakness—and demoralization in other fields as well as science.

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Segregation and the Law

BY THOMAS I. EMERSON

EARLY in April the Supreme Court will hear argument in a series of cases challenging once again the legal justifications of segregation. The plaintiffs in all the suits are Negroes. Heman Marion Sweatt was refused admission to the University of Texas Law School and told to enroll in a hastily improvised law school for Negroes. G. W. McLaurin was admitted to the University of Oklahoma graduate school but forced to sit at a desk outside the door of the regular classrooms. Elmer W. Henderson was refused a seat next to white passengers in a dining car on the Southern Railway.

The three cases, all backed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will give the Supreme Court an opportunity to redetermine whether the constitutional guaranty of "equal protection of the laws" prohibits segregation in publicly owned or publicly controlled facilities. The court will be asked to overhaul existing legal doctrine in the light both of new evidence clarifying the original meaning of the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and of significant developments in the field of race relations.

The appeal to history is being presented to the court in a brief filed in the Sweatt case by a committee of 188 law-school teachers opposed to segregation in legal education. Based upon research conducted by Professor John P. Frank of the Yale Law School, the brief points out that the original framers of the equal-protection clause specifically intended it to prevent the very forms of segregation involved in the present cases.

Chief architect of the clause was Charles Sumner, famous Massachusetts abolitionist. Opponents of slavery had always drawn support from the assertion in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal." It was Sumner who first attempted to bolster this abstract political principle with concrete legal supports for the protection of men freed from the bonds of slavery. As early as 1849 Sumner argued strenuously before the Massachusetts Supreme Court that segregated schools in Boston violated the Commonwealth's constitutional provision that "all men are created free and equal." Pointing out that the French Revolutionary Constitution of 1791 contained the guaranty that "men are born and continue free and equal *in their rights*," Sumner contended that the Massachusetts provision must be construed as requiring equality of rights—that is, equality before the law. The Massachusetts court overruled Sumner, but was in turn quickly reversed by the state legislature.

Sumner's argument was widely distributed in pamphlet form and "equal rights" soon became the rallying cry of the anti-slavery movement. When Sumner went to Washington as Senator, he and his supporters carried on the campaign from the floor of Congress.

The first section of the Fourteenth Amendment—actually drafted by Representative Bingham of Ohio, a member of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction—incorporated Sumner's doctrine in the words, "nor shall any state . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Analysis of the views of the Republican members of the Joint Committee who sponsored the amendment shows that a clear majority definitely intended the provision to abolish all distinctions of color in the enjoyment of civil rights. Thus Senator Howard, Senate floor leader, stated plainly that the clause "abolishes all class legislation in the states and does away with the injustice of subjecting one caste of persons to a code not applicable to another. . . . It establishes equality before the law."

Congress repeatedly took the same view in legislation enacted throughout the Civil War and the immediate Reconstruction period. The fundamental purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment and the implementing civil-rights legislation is thus scarcely open to doubt. It was to eliminate from our law all race discrimination or distinction of any kind. But at this point the Supreme Court stepped into the picture. Beginning in 1876, the court proceeded to declare most civil-rights legislation unconstitutional, stripping the Fourteenth Amendment of much of its potency and in the end nullifying the entire civil-rights program. A full study of the causes of this assault would require a separate article

Among the Supreme Court decisions of this period was one that dealt specifically with the issue of segregation. A Louisiana law required all railroads within the state to provide "equal but separate accommodations" for white and colored passengers. A man named Plessy, of one-eighth Negro blood, refused to move out of a "white" coach and was charged with violating the statute. Plessy contended that it unconstitutionally denied him the equal protection of the laws. The Supreme Court, with only Justice Harlan dissenting, held the Louisiana segregation statute valid.

THOMAS I. EMERSON, Professor of Law in the Yale Law School, is one of the authors of a brief filed with the Supreme Court on behalf of the Committee of Law Teachers Against Segregation in Legal Education.

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The Plessy vs. Ferguson decision was handed down in 1896. It has remained on the books ever since as the chief legal prop for segregation in public facilities, particularly in education and transportation. The brief now filed by the committee of law-school teachers and other supporting briefs in the Sweatt, McLaurin, and Henderson cases ask the court to reconsider and reverse the Plessy vs. Ferguson ruling. The law teachers' brief points out that, in addition to ignoring the purpose and spirit of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Plessy decision was premised on three major assumptions of fact and prognostication which have been proved false in the past half century.

The principal argument advanced by the court in 1896 was that Plessy was wrong in assuming that "the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority." "If this be so," the court declared, "it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it." The idea is so preposterous that one can only wonder how it could seriously have been urged. Scientific opinion is now all but unanimous in holding that enforced segregation is not only a "badge of inferiority" but has devastating effects upon the personality of the segregated individuals and the social development of the segregated groups. An *amicus curiae* brief filed by the government in the Henderson case points out that on a questionnaire answered by over 500 social scientists, 90.4 per cent believed that segregation has "detrimental psychological effects," 2.3 per cent expressed the opposite opinion, and 7.4 per cent expressed no opinion. "Those who elaborated their position with comments (55 per cent of those replying) stressed that segregation induced feelings of inferiority, insecurity, frustration, and persecution, and that it developed, on the one hand, submissiveness, martyrdom, withdrawal tendencies, and fantasy, and on the other hand, aggression." These conclusions have been elaborately documented by Myrdal, Johnson, Dollard, and many others.

THE second major assumption made by the court in the Plessy case was that legislation is "powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences." Hence government intervention is useless or ineffective to solve the problem of segregation. Actual experience demonstrates that this assumption, too, is largely without foundation. One illustration of this is the white primary. Professor V. O. Key's recent study, "Southern Politics," reveals that the decisions of the Supreme Court in the white-primary cases have not only eliminated that practice but have substantially increased the extent of Negro voting in the South.

The President's Committee on Civil Rights, after exhaustive study, concluded that "where artificial barriers that divide people and groups from one another are broken, tension and conflict begin to be replaced by cooperative effort and an environment in which civil rights can thrive." Experience with the elimination of segregation in educational institutions, in housing, in the armed services, and in industry, both North and South, points to the same conclusion. The federal FEPC summed up its work by saying: "Employers and workers abandoned discrimination in most cases where government intervened. . . . Once the barriers were down, the workers of varying races and religions worked together efficiently and learned to accept each other without rancor." And the American Management Association has reported: "It is evident that, irrespective of a company's past history or its geographical location, Negro workers can be introduced into a plant, or their employment extended, provided management is seriously desirous of taking this course." There have, it is true, been some instances of conflict in the attempt to eliminate segregation. But most of these difficulties can be traced to the failure of the authorities to take clear-cut and decisive action.

THE third assumption of the Plessy decision, less clearly stated than the other two, was that the institution of segregation was better left alone, that harmonious relations between the races would gradually evolve by a process of mutual adjustment.

Once again, the United States Supreme Court was wrong. The impact of segregation upon both the segregated and those who segregate has tended to increase with the passage of time. As Myrdal has said, "The spiritual effects of segregation are accumulating with each new generation, continuously estranging the two [racial] groups." What was merely segregation half a century ago is almost a caste system today. The cancer of segregation does not tend to cure itself.

Thus the Supreme Court at the time of the Plessy case utterly failed to grasp the true meaning of segregation or its implications for American democracy. The court might have exercised its judicial powers and prestige to nip segregation in the bud, at a time when the break with slavery was fresh. Unfortunately, it did not choose to do so.

Within recent years the Supreme Court has given strong indications that the philosophy of the Plessy case might soon be repudiated. It has chipped away at patterns of segregation without openly overruling the Plessy decision. Thus it has ruled that a state law requiring the segregation of Negroes in interstate buses conflicts with the federal control of interstate commerce. And more recently it held that restrictive covenants may not be enforced in state courts.

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It is quite possible for the court to dispose of the cases presently before it without squarely facing the doctrine of the Plessy case. It can hold, as all the briefs vigorously urge, that Sweatt and McLaurin have not in fact been given "separate but equal" opportunities with white students. And the discrimination against Henderson can be outlawed as contrary to the general prohibition against discrimination by railroads—mainly directed against rate discrimination—in the Interstate Commerce Act. Yet one cannot help but hope that the court will face the doctrine of the Plessy case directly. If it does so, the knowledge and experience gained since the Reconstruction cases can scarcely leave the result in doubt.

The Politics of Cotton

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, March 15

TRADITIONALLY, cotton has been the most "political" of American crops. It is not surprising, therefore, that the rapid expansion of cotton acreage in Arizona, California, Texas, and New Mexico (see Cotton in California, *The Nation,* February 19, 1949) should be creating political tensions somewhat like those caused by the movement of cotton from the eastern seaboard into Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

With the suspension of cotton quotas in 1941 the California acreage increased steadily and in the postwar years 1946-49 showed a spectacular growth. In 1947 cotton became the state's ranking crop, by value, and in 1949 California took fourth place among the cotton-producing states. Early in 1949, when the carryover or surplus was seen to be some 8,200,000 bales, it became apparent that quotas would have to be reimposed. The quotas laid down in the 1938 act, however, were by now entirely obsolete; the expansion of cotton in the Southwest had upset not only the politics but the economics of cotton production.

At present there are three major cotton-producing regions—the Southeast, including Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas; the Delta region; and the Southwest. As a low-yield, high-cost, small-unit area the Southeast is intensely interested in rigid cotton quotas. The Delta, with its large yields and low costs, is more interested in quantity production. The Southwestern states produce an exceptionally high-yield, premium-quality, low-cost cotton on large irrigated and mechanized farms. Which of these areas would have to bear the largest part of the inevitable cutback? California feared that its claims would be ignored because it is a newcomer in cotton production, and because the Agricultural Committee of the House is dominated by Southerners. The older cotton-producing states of the South insisted that quotas should be based on prior "cotton histories." The Southwestern states demanded some formula that would permit them to retain the largest possible measure of the gains scored in the runaway years 1946-49.

In February, 1949, California producers formed the Western Cotton Growers' Association to defend their interests. Though it is controlled by the large growers and the cotton-ginning companies, the association managed to rope in many of the small growers and even succeeded in assessing them for part of the lobbying costs. The choice of Harold Pomeroy, for years state director of the Associated Farmers, as president of the association and of Ralph Bunje, manager of the Agricultural Labor Bureau of the San Joaquin Valley (a labor-recruiting agency dominated by the Associated Farmers), as lobbyist indicates that the Western Cotton Growers' Association was not set up to represent small farmers.

Fearing that an open split over quotas might reveal certain unsavory aspects of the cotton-parity program, the large cotton interests wisely decided to settle their differences behind locked doors. They therefore called together a "Cotton Congress" in Memphis and invited many Congressmen and Senators from the cotton-producing states to attend. At this conference a theoretical reconciliation of the two conflicting reduction formulas —"cotton history" (old areas) vs. "irrigated crop land" (new areas)—was arrived at, and a new cotton program was worked out. The program was presented to Congress by Senator Clinton Anderson with the indorsement of most of the Senators and Congressmen from the cotton regions and was promptly enacted into law.

The new quota scheme is far too complicated to describe here, but its major points may be indicated. The 1938 quotas were discarded as obsolete; 1949 plantings were eliminated as a basis for reckoning quotas; no grower was allowed a larger acreage for 1950 than for the biggest single year from 1946 through 1948. The general cutback was from about 27,000,000 acres in 1949 to 21,000,000, with no state required to take more than a 15 per cent reduction on its 1948 acreage. Planters owning less than five acres of cotton land were exempted from the law's provisions—a major victory for

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor, is the author of "California, the Great Exception."

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the Southeastern states. The elimination of 1949 plantings as a basis for reckoning quotas was another victory for these states, since it forced a cut in California from 963,000 acres last year to an estimated 642,699 acres in 1950. Incidentally, this cut will reduce the number of pickers required by 25,000, and many of those who were brought into the San Joaquin Valley to harvest the 1949 bumper crop will be stranded there.

When the new quotas were parceled out to the cotton counties in California, the fine hand of the Western Cotton Growers' Association was immediately apparent. The Memphis formula sought to strike a balance between irrigated (Western) and non-irrigated (Southern) cotton by using "tilled acreage" as the basis of computation. The literal application of this formula in the large cotton-producing county of Fresno would have worked to the disadvantage of the large growers, for the county happens to be divided into a "west" side, made up of large units which pump water from deep wells, and an "east" side, made up of comparatively small farms using gravity-flow water. With their customary effrontery the large growers simply proceeded to carve the county into two administrative units—the only instance of the kind on record—and then allocated separate quotas to the larger growers and the small growers. This was a bit too much for the numerically dominant small growers, and they proceeded to vote out of office the county committeemen who had arranged the neat coup.

The revolt spread, and California's small farmers threatened to upset the Memphis accord. To appease them, and similar interests in Texas, dickering began again in Congress over increasing the national quota so as to eliminate "certain injustices." The House passed an amendment to increase the quota by 1,400,000 acres, but the Senate later reduced this figure to 790,000 acres. A group of Northern Democrats, annoyed by Southern opposition to the civil-rights program, conducted a minor delaying action on the amendment, but it was finally passed.

The conflict of interests resulting from the rapid emergence of the Southwest as an important cotton-producing region now threatens to make cotton a disruptive rather than a unifying factor in Democratic politics. The Memphis agreement has brought at best a temporary truce. With a marked competitive advantage, the Southwest is certain to renew the fight to increase cotton quotas or to change existing quotas to its advantage. More dissension within the Democratic Party will be caused by this issue than by any other connected with agricultural policy.

The dispute over quotas is really one between large growers and small growers rather than between regions. The large growers can always accept a reduction program, since they simply conspire among themselves to force the reduction on the small growers in their respective bailiwicks. Mr. Brannan, in his fight with the Farm Bureau, has been making effective use of the Memphis agreement to hammer home the thesis that agricultural policy should be decided by Congress and not by representatives of large growers meeting as a "Congress of Agriculture." In many areas small growers of various crops are beginning to protest against this delegation of Congressional authority and are finding allies among urban residents, who are coming to see that they have a real stake in agricultural price policies both as consumers and as taxpayers.

For too long now agricultural price policies have been largely determined by the political question of how much the organized sector of agriculture—the large commercial growers and allied interests—could force the Administration to pay as blackmail. Once city dwellers and small farmers begin to exert a counter political pressure, a more democratic price policy will take form. The regional conflict over cotton quotas is merely one phase of a general realignment which is likely to change the "politics" of many other crops than cotton.

LOOKING BACKWARD

Fifty Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE development of the machinists' strike in Chicago will be regarded with much uneasiness throughout the country. People have not yet forgotten the terrible scenes of 1894, following the Pullman strike; and in some respects the conditions now are worse than they were then. According to all accounts, the government of Chicago is unable or unwilling to deal with ordinary crime, and, should any considerable outbreak of violence occur, little reliance could be placed on the police force. As to what may be expected from the state authorities, Governor Tanner has already made his record. He has declared his determination to employ the forces of the state of Illinois in support of men defying the law, and has said that he would shoot to pieces men coming into the state to do the work which men already there refused to perform. This precedent shows that the strikers need not fear that the troops of the state will be used to protect those against whom their violence may be directed. In 1894 the President of the United States was Mr. Cleveland, and everyone knows how he dealt with the situation. When it became apparent that the local authorities were not going to suppress the rioting, Mr. Cleveland promptly used the federal forces and put an end to it off-hand. We doubt if the country feels confident that Mr. McKinley will act with such vigor. He is supposed to be very anxious for a reelection, and it might be fatal to his hopes to offend the "labor vote" by using federal troops to put down rioters.—*March 22, 1900.*

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Old vs. New at Taos

BY R. L. CHAMBERS

Taos, New Mexico

JOE L. MARTINEZ has had trouble with the tribal council ever since he returned to the Taos pueblo after serving in the navy. When he brought running water into his apartment in the pueblo, the council informed him that he was violating age-old religious custom and ordered him to take out the pipes. When he refused, the council threatened to do it for him. The husky veteran of several Pacific campaigns replied that he would protect his pipes; the council took no action.

Before long the council, which has ruled the pueblo with an iron hand for many decades, cited Martinez for failure to pay a debt of $600 which it claimed his father had incurred fifteen years ago. Joe said he had no knowledge of the debt and refused to pay $25 a month as the council suggested. The council asked Taos county officials to arrest Martinez, but county and state officials make it a rule not to interfere in disputes among the inhabitants of the pueblos.

Taos is ruled by a self-perpetuating clique of old men who permit no freedom of speech or religion and no voting. The tribal council has the power to arrest, try, and jail or banish any Taos Indian who has "violated" the tribal code. Exactly what this code is, the council has never disclosed, but it is known that all governmental functions and decisions are based on ancestral religious precepts. According to tribal law Taos Indians may not work outside the pueblo or enjoy the advantages of modern utilities. Electricity and plumbing have long been common in other Rio Grande pueblos, but Taos housewives have to fetch water from the stream that bisects the village, and their homes are lit by kerosene lamps. In keeping with their conservatism, men of the older generation wear long braids and cover their faces with blankets. Their women are little more than cooks and child-bearers.

What the young men took for granted before the war, they found intolerable upon their return from military service. While they willingly went to work in the fields and shared in community duties, they balked at the way the council did things "without reason," and they demanded an accounting of the $10,000 the pueblo earns each year from tourists. They felt they should be permitted to hold meetings whenever they wanted, participate in veterans' programs, take advantage of the G. I. Bill of Rights, and above all have some voice in the election of pueblo officials.

R. L. CHAMBERS, a wire-service correspondent in New Mexico, contributed a report to The Nation *last fall on the church-state question in the New Mexican school system.*

When the Spanish came to the Southwest four centuries ago they established the principle that the villages should elect their own governors. In most New Mexican pueblos this principle is observed. But things are different at Taos. The system there has been revealed by Tony Mirabal, one of the younger, progressive Indians. In 1948, he said, the tribal council told him he was the new governor. This was the year in which New Mexican Indians obtained the suffrage. Most Indians in the state were overjoyed, but the tribal council forbade the Taoseños to exercise their new right. Mirabal upheld the people's right and duty to vote. "This made the council mad," he says. "I was asked to put all the voters in jail on election day. I refused to do this. Then they came and told me that I wasn't governor any more."

The bad feeling between the two factions in the pueblo that had been developing since the war was intensified by the voting issue. Finally both sides agreed that the matter must be settled. The younger men wanted Eric Hagberg, regional representative of the United States Indian Service, to arbitrate. The older group wanted to keep the dispute within the tribe. Members of a "People's Committee" asked Hagberg to meet with them in the school auditorium. When Hagberg went to the pueblo, he was prevented from entering by order of the tribal governor. The governor was reported to have said that "the United States Constitution does not apply here; we have our own laws." Hagberg returned to the town of Taos, a few miles away, where he was joined by about a hundred of the Indians who had been waiting for him in the auditorium. They told him that the pueblo was under a dictatorship like that in totalitarian nations. Hagberg promised aid and passed the information along to Indian Commissioner John Nichols.

With Hagberg and other Indian Service officials, Commissioner Nichols recently paid a surprise visit to the pueblo. After asking many questions he announced that he would presently decide in Washington on what the Indian Service would do. He said he would see to it that every man and woman at Taos could exercise his right to vote and was guaranteed "freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and freedom of press." All forms of government in this country, Indian and otherwise, he said, "must operate within the framework of the Constitution of the United States."

The young group at the pueblo believe they have won, but some observers are not so optimistic. Certainly the young people will not be able to put over their reforms without effecting a major change in the culture of the pueblo. Ethnologists are watching developments at Taos with great interest, for they feel that the dramatic struggle between the old and the new will have consequences far beyond this one small, if colorful, Indian village.

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Austria—International Chessboard

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Innsbruck-Salzburg,

NOBODY in Austria is taking seriously any longer the negotiations for an Austrian peace treaty. A *Staatsvertrag*, or "state treaty," the Austrians insist on calling it, not a "peace treaty," for Austria is not an enemy country—Austria was liberated!

The Austrians know perfectly well that only the British among the Allies want to leave Austria—and perhaps not even they. The Americans, or at least certain very important Americans, clearly want to stay, and the French make no secret of the fact that they would consider the evacuation of Austria a first-rate mistake. A high French official in Innsbruck said, "If we leave Austria, it will create a military vacuum which in one way or another the Russians are sure to fill before long. Our departure would thoroughly compromise our occupation of Germany, both strategically and morally; the Germans would soon regard the evacuation of Austria as a precedent."

One Austrian after another has said to me, "Of course our government has to pretend that it is trying to get the occupation forces to leave. But most of us feel a good deal safer with the British, French, and Americans here. While we don't much care for all the hot jazz at Salzburg, still we are a Marshall Plan country, and heaven help us if we ever stop being one." No doubt, they add, E. R. P. is badly mismanaged, but by and large Austria is living and thriving thanks to the Marshall Plan. The country has had a much less difficult time than after the First World War. The shops now are full of goods and there is still very little unemployment. The general standard of living, however, is much lower than before the war, and "taxation is pretty well killing us."

If one investigates this matter of taxes, one finds that while direct taxes are as high as in England and perhaps higher, indirect taxes are immeasurably lower. Wages are not high: the low pay of small government officials—$8.40 a week is not uncommon—makes inevitable a certain amount of corruption. On the whole the people of western Austria were not very much better off before the war, except perhaps during the Anschluss, when the Tyrol was swamped with rucksack tourists from Germany proper. That is one of many reasons why the Tyrol, without necessarily liking the Germans, is in favor of what is vaguely called "closer economic relations with Germany." This phrase covers anything from "more tourists from the Reich" to amalgamation with Western Germany. So far, practically no German tourists are allowed to enter Austria.

In no other country have I had so strong an impression of people living from day to day and not minding too much. Austria is admittedly the plaything of the great powers, and the prevailing cheerful fatalism is summed up in the Tyrolean phrase "*Es kann der nix geschehn*" ("Nothing can happen to you"). The country is Catholic; the peasants, who the townspeople say were bloodsuckers during the war and are still bloodsuckers, are solidly behind the People's Party and Chancellor Figl. A shrewd peasant himself, Figl is thought by many Austrians to be the only man capable of talking up to the Russians.

Comic papers with their smutty and feeble jokes are not very popular—the best Viennese jokes, I am told, were concocted before the war by the now absent Jews—but pornographic and semi-pornographic publications are having a great commercial success.

RECENTLY there was considerable excitement in the Tyrol on the arrival of the fifty-first trainload of Austrian war prisoners from Russia. One Austrian in a cafe remarked with some satisfaction, "They've even started releasing the S. S. men!" The p.o.w.'s looked fairly well fed—it was said that they had been given fattening-up rations for several weeks before being sent home. The papers declared that 1,000 Austrians were still held in a camp at Stalingrad. The prisoners themselves said that they had had to work very hard while in Russia; they were happy to be home and preferred not to dwell on the bad days of their captivity.

You don't hear much talk against the Russians, and the Austrians forgave Hitler long ago. True, Austria lost at least half a million men in the war, but it was all part of a "historical process," and nobody could have stopped it. "Perhaps," one Austrian friend whimsically remarked, "we might even have won the war if we hadn't been led by a *verrückter Oesterreicher* (a crazy Austrian)!" If so many Austrians went Nazi, was it not partly because they were sick and tired of Austrian *Gemütlichkeit*, of Austrian spinelessness? After a diet of cream cakes they longed for raw meat. Now, too, there is a vague longing for raw meat, and the neo-Nazis are promising to satisfy this appetite. And yet the Austrians are not really Nazi or German by nature; they went Nazi after the Anschluss, they say, only be-

ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's *correspondent in Paris, recently visited Austria for several weeks.*

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cause they were hypnotized by the power of the German army. "You who have come from Prague ought to know the hypnotic effect a great power can exert on a little country."

The Austrians don't at heart like either Russian greatness or German greatness, but they like greatness for all that and feel a sentimental attachment to the glorious days of the Hapsburg monarchy. In the bookshops biographies of Franz Joseph and books on Vienna in the old days are at the top of the best-seller list. In the bar of the Arlbergerhof in Innsbruck the most popular "numbers" are songs imitating the funny Czech or the funny Hungarian talking German. The listeners like to imagine that Budapest and Prague are still part of Austria. "It's the way of all empires," one man said to me. "We once had the Czechs, you once had the Indians; so what?" Czechoslovakia, however, worried him least. But Hungary and Budapest—"they are Austria's own flesh and blood." Between the wars Vienna and Budapest maintained the closest cultural and spiritual bonds. Now Hungary belongs to another world. To be cut off from Hungary is one of the things that today hurts the Austrians most.

BEFORE leaving Innsbruck I looked into the matter of the D. P.'s and the *Volksdeutsche*. The 85,000 D. P.'s, thanks to the work of the I. R. O. and other organizations, are no longer a major problem. The I. R. O. hopes to find room for most of them outside Austria, though some may stay on as agricultural laborers. Certain groups which might be classed as war criminals—Croatian Ustashi, members of the Rumanian Iron Guard, Hungarian Salasi, and German S. S. men (chiefly to be found in the Salzburg area)—will continue to live as they have been doing on money contributed by various benefactors and on Nazi funds said to have been hidden in caves in the Salzkammergut.

The 300,000 *Volksdeutsche* who have been in Austria since their expulsion from Rumania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia are a more serious problem. The I. R. O. has refused to include them among the D. P.'s, and most of them live from hand to mouth, with little prospect either of becoming integrated in Austria's economy or of emigrating. Austria maintains that they should be readmitted to their native lands, but it is doubtful whether they would be willing to return even if they could after the way they were turned out.

Salzburg, in 1945, was the center of that "Alpine redoubt" where the remaining defenders of Hitler's thousand-year Reich were going to make their last stand. But instead these heroes slunk away into the pensions of Salzburg or were gathered into American camps. As might be expected, Salzburg is the center of the Austrian neo-Nazi revival.

In Hitler's time there were 650,000 Nazi Party members, plus their families, in Austria. The question after the war was whether and how they could be reorganized in a neo-Nazi party. Two factors have contributed to their revived influence. Before the election last October the Minister of the Interior proposed that other parties than the three allowed by the Allies—the Catholic People's Party, the Socialists, and the Communists—should be permitted to put up candidates. The British were said to favor this innovation as a test of the strength of Nazism in Austria, and the Russians to be not altogether opposed, since they hoped for a split in the Socialist Party. It was finally agreed that no new parties could take part in the election but that groups of parties could. The neo-Nazis were also helped by a law promulgated by the Allies late in 1945 which ordered the prefectures to list all persons who had belonged to the Nazi Party or affiliated bodies between 1933 and 1945. These lists could be consulted, and the neo-Nazis promptly circularized all those whose names were found on them.

The neo-Nazis ran candidates in the election under the non-committal label of *Verband der Unabhängigen* (Union of Independents), and polled 450,000 votes,

"What, they're not on our pay-roll? These amateurs do a better job for us than the pros."
Anglo-U.S. policy
IMPLORE SOVIET NOW SOVIET JITTER
"SPIES EVERYWHERE" JITTER
LOW

THE NERVE WAR

London *Daily Herald*

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which gave them sixteen seats in Parliament and made them the third-largest party in Austria. Their program is exceedingly vague. It speaks of Austria for the Austrians and close economic bonds with Western Germany, and throws in a little something to please everybody. It is both for planning and for a free economy, both pro-Vatican and anti-Vatican, both pro-Jewish and anti-Jewish. In reality, it is an appeal to the widest possible number of malcontents. The Nazi ideology of the new party has so far been carefully camouflaged; its personnel rather than any of its official utterances gives the clue to its nature. At unofficial meetings, however, indiscretions are freely permitted: "*Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Führer*" is shouted, and at a public meeting at Graz some time ago the band cheerfully played "*Wir fahren gegen England*," until the British authorities drew its attention to the fact that this was going a bit far in British-occupied territory.

The head of the movement, Herbert Kraus, was an officer in the Austrian army who by 1940 had become a major general of the Wehrmacht. He has been described as "an ascetic not only in looks but also in his habits; an intellectual, a brilliant thinker but bad speaker, with a gift of repartee but without much power of concentration; a schizophrenic." His closest associate is one Reimann, "a flower of the Viennese suburbs, a rake," who first took up theology, and then when Hitler came studied *Germanistik* in all earnestness under a Nazi professor called Srbik. He joined the Hitler Youth and later the army, where he had a row with a sergeant and was sentenced to five years' hard labor, enabling him to pose as a victim of Nazi persecution and as a resistance man. Being a clever though not a profound writer, he got a job after the war on the liberal *Salzburger Nachrichten*, the editor of which was and still is the dynamic and picturesque Dr. Canaval, an anti-Nazi who spent the seven years from the Anschluss to the Nazi collapse in Dachau.

Last year the Union of Independents (V. D. U.) started a paper of its own, the *Oesterreichische Allgemeine Zeitung*, published at Salzburg. Reimann, who has become increasingly outspoken in his pan-German utterances and editorials, promptly switched over to the new paper, which he is now running for Kraus and his movement. It had a circulation of 70,000 to begin with, but this later dropped to 24,000, and the attempt to kill the *Nachrichten* as the leading Salzburg paper failed. The V. D. U. now publishes several other papers, mostly weeklies, with an aggregate weekly circulation of 230,000. They are run at a loss now and must have money behind them.

At Linz, on Christmas Eve, a family row ended with a youngster rushing down into the cellar for a pistol, with which he wounded his mother and sister. The police were called and found a whole arsenal in the cellar of the house. Eleven arrests were made. It was discovered that this was just one gang of many belonging to a widespread Nazi "resistance movement."

Canaval names as the leaders of the Nazi underground a Dr. Lahm, now editor of the V. D. U. paper the *Neue Front*, and various former S. S. officers. These, in Canaval's opinion, are the chief liaison men with Nazi organizations in Bavaria, and among them, he says, may be one or two who know where the Third Reich's treasure is secreted. Canaval believes that the Nazis cached mostly gold, which is hard to pass, and not much negotiable currency; therefore he and many other Austrians insist that the V. D. U. leaders must be receiving financial and political support from other sources. "Everybody is flirting with them if not openly subsidizing them—above all, the Americans, but also the British, the French, and the Russians." The Russians appear to have been a party to the mysterious negotiations at Linz between Kraus and a Communist town councilor named Kerschbanner and a deputy in the Upper Austrian Landtag named Roschall. The prevalent theory about Russian contacts with Kraus is that the stronger the Nazis become, the more easily can the Russians bring pressure to bear on the Austrian government about the "Nazi menace" in Austria.

SALZBURG today is an uncanny place. Every third person you meet is somebody's agent. Half the Austrians I have talked to are convinced that the Nazi movement, which exists openly only in the form of the seemingly innocuous V. D. U.—the Loritz Party in Germany is its rather more potent counterpart—is being assiduously cultivated by all sorts of people. They told me, for instance, that there are "two American policies"—the policy of the State Department and the White House on the one hand, and of "certain military men" on the other, men who think war with Russia is inevitable before very long, and who therefore hold that denazification is completely out of date. The tough old S. S. ruffians and their disciples might come in very useful one day. "Russian intelligence, Deuxième Bureau, C. I. C., and what have you, all as busy as beavers, spying, recruiting, and mixing with the most unsavory characters," said one Austrian friend. "There's a standing joke here—the 199th Roman Legion, *Legio Austriaca*—remember how you write 199 in Roman figures?" He laughed. "And the Russians of course will also use all the S. S. men and Nazis they want if it suits them. In eastern Germany they've already put them into some sort of National Democratic Alliance. Nobody's squeamish any longer." "Only," he added, "I wish I knew what all this has to do with the future and the well-being of Austria. Do you think any great power really has an Austrian policy? Or is Austria merely a chessboard for them to play on?"

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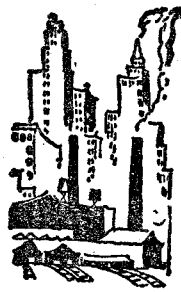

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Spain's Warped Economy

ON MARCH 7, Juan Suances, Franco's Minister of Industry and Commerce, released details of a two-year program of industrial development which, he predicted, would transform the industrial face of Spain. Attempts are to be made to discover and exploit new mineral deposits; nineteen new hydro-electric and four thermal power stations are to be constructed; more factories are to be built for the production of nitrates, sugar, textiles, wall board, films, paper, and various other goods. Moreover, this two-year plan, the Minister said, is merely the first phase of a five-year plan to complete the basic industrialization of Spain.

I imagine that this announcement was received with profound skepticism by Spanish business men who have become accustomed to Señor Suances's big talk and small performance. Industrial self-sufficiency has been a major theme of the Franco government ever since it came to power. Through the *Instituto Nacional de Industria* (I. N. I.), a kind of state holding company formed in 1941 to promote economic development, vast sums have been spent to achieve this objective. But whatever progress has been made in some directions has been offset by deterioration in others.

The official Spanish index of industrial production (1940=100) is based on a year when the country had barely begun to recover from the Civil War. Yet in 1946, the best post-war year, it stood only 15 points higher, and in 1948 fell back to 110. Comparison with the twenties gives an even more unfavorable picture, with production but 2 per cent higher than the average of 1922-26. Considering that in the past twenty-five years Spain's population has increased by over 20 per cent, it is clear that Franco's grandiose development plans have paid mighty small dividends.

I have been told that Señor Suances is an able engineer, but the known facts about I. N. I., which are all too few because it does not make public its accounts, suggest that he is not a brilliant success as an industrial manager or economist. In the *Christian Science Monitor* of February 16, Arno Dosch-Fleurot reported from Madrid that French investigators, who had studied the Spanish situation in connection with a proposed bank credit, estimated that some $480,000 had been invested in state-owned and controlled properties, few of which had produced "more than symbolic results." As an example, he mentioned that artificial textile plants, scheduled to produce 20,000 tons of fiber in 1949, turned out less than one-tenth of that amount.

Another major I. N. I. project has been the launching of an aluminum industry designed to free Spain from independence on foreign supplies of this metal. Recently, Franco ceremoniously opened a plant at Vallodolid which will convert imported bauxite into aluminum ingots. This city, situated in the northwest sector of the great central plateau —sometimes called the Spanish desert—was selected in accordance with a plan for spreading industry which is now heavily concentrated on the Basque coast and in Catalonia. Apart from this consideration, there is practically nothing to be said for the location. It is more than 150 miles from the ports through which it must secure its raw material, is far from sources of the cheap power which is needed in large quantities for this process, and is isolated from the industries which will consume its product. As a Spanish businessman I talked to recently said, this enterprise breaks all of the ten commandments of industrial planning.

The aluminum project merely illustrates the minor errors which spring from a fundamental mistake in economic planning—concentration of resources on industrial development at the expense of farming, the occupation of the majority of Spaniards. Before the Civil War, the country was self-sufficient in regard to basic foods and, in addition, produced large quantities of specialized agricultural products for export. In the years since, over-all output of Spain's agriculture has declined by 20 per cent and that of cereals by 30 per cent. Thus heavy drafts must now be made on limited foreign-exchange resources to supply even scanty rations for a growing population. In 1948, for example, purchases of foreign wheat absorbed the earnings of the country's two leading exports, oranges and olive oil.

Instead of pursuing the will o' the wisp of industrial self-sufficiency, the Spanish government should clearly make the rehabilitation of agriculture its primary objective. Admittedly, this will be no easy task. A major cause of the decline in farm productivity is the prolonged shortage of nitrogenous fertilizers, which used to be procured in large quantities from Germany and Chile. As nitrates are a major war material, it was naturally difficult for Spain to buy them between 1939 and 1945, and even since the war ended world supplies have been inadequate. However, larger amounts could have been obtained in recent years if foreign exchange had not been frittered away on such non-essentials as foreign machinery for the aluminum industry, not to mention automobiles and other luxuries for black-market profiteers. Under the circumstances, one would have expected that top priority would have been given to expansion of the domestic nitrate industry, which at present supplies only a tiny fraction of the country's needs. Yet while I. N. I. does have some plants under construction, work on them is reported to be way behind schedule.

That farming is the Cinderella of the post-civil-war economy is illustrated by the fact that less than 1 per cent of the 1950 budget is allocated to the Ministry of Agriculture. In addition, it is true, some irrigation projects are being financed from funds alloted to public works; and the *Instituto Nacional de Colonization*, which purchases and sub-divides large estates, invests money received from the sale of its state-guaranteed bonds in rural improvements and makes loans to farmers. The total disbursed in such forms of agricultural assistance, however, appears to be rather insignificant compared with the funds placed at the disposal of Señor Suances. While this warping of the economy continues, Spain's chances of recovery are poor indeed.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

THE SPIRIT OF BERLIOZ' MUSIC

BY JACQUES BARZUN

[*The following article is condensed from a chapter in the author's "Berlioz and the Romantic Century," which Little, Brown and Company will publish later this spring.*]

IT IS significant that Berlioz' admirers in his day and ours have severally chosen each of his twelve major works as his characteristic or supreme masterpiece—which really means the one congenial to their idiosyncrasy. This might lead us to infer that diversity is his special effect if the term did not suggest a scattering, a diffuseness, which is in fact the opposite of his no less special concentration and uniqueness. Taken together, these contrasting hallmarks actually define Berlioz' characteristic art, whose affinity with that of Shakespeare is in this regard unmistakable. And it is this aesthetic—to use modern cant—and not the technique or the raw material of Berlioz' music which divides friend from foe.

To come under Berlioz' intimate spell one must accept this aesthetic, for good, or for the time being, and then treat it as an accepted thing, which is to say more than half forget it. The result almost invariably is that one begins to discern his melody and find pleasure in it. This is the great step to take, for it is in melodies—melodies that are at once complete statements and independent objects of art—that Berlioz thinks and delivers himself. But so precise in Berlioz' *melos* are the modifications of pitch and time that paradoxically its virtue may not fully strike us if we merely hear; we must heed. This is no doubt why Schumann long ago recommended that one sing out Berlioz' melodies, as it were to feel in the body and reproduce by vocal effort the motions of Berlioz' spirit. For it is an active and subtle spirit, who is likely to escape us if we sit passive and wait to be moved.

Once we are attuned to this governing element, the rest becomes naturalized in relation to it—rhythm, harmony, counterpoint, orchestration, and form. It is then and then only that one may be said to *hear* Berlioz, that is, to enjoy as he did the sensations he chose, and to perceive as he did the relations he contrived. Having done so we can see that our former bewilderment or sense of alienating coldness was based on an "understanding" which took illicit priority over concrete experience. We knew, or thought we knew, more than we heard.

ONLY BEYOND this point does a comparison of Berlioz with other composers become just. One must be able to live reflectively with passages, movements, or "moments" from his music as one does with similar recollections of other great utterances. Within the body of his work groupings and comparisons suggest themselves: the love music in the "Harold" and "Romeo" symphonies or the Faustian and Trojan dramas; the prayers and invocations, from the "Francs-Juges" overture to the death of Dido; the fugues—diabolic and rousing as in the "Fantastique," gentle and quaint as in "The Infant Christ;" the great funeral "monotonies" in "Romeo," the "Requiem," the "Te Deum," "Hamlet," and the "Funeral Triumph"; the roistering or mass scenes in "Harold," "Benvenuto," the "Damnation," and "Beatrice"; the twelve superb marches—the most varied collection perhaps in modern music; the tender nocturnes or pastorales that recur from the "Fantastique" to "Beatrice," taking in nearly all the overtures and dramatic works in between; and finally the haunting "calls" uttered by flute or oboe, French or English horn, in the mysterious movements such as the "Queen Mab" Scherzo, the Ride to the Abyss, or the Royal Hunt and Storm.

Once we have been drawn in, literally by the ears, to explore this rich world, acquired momentum draws us ever closer to the reality of Berlioz as musician. More intent on undergoing, let us say, the third movement of the "Fantastique" than on knowing whence it came or how it is tied to the rest of the score by words or notes, we ask of Berlioz neither what he felt nor what he knew, but what he *sounds*. And there, at the close of this ample hymn to natural beauty, we find delight and excitement in a remarkable detail: the plaintive English horn melody of the beginning returns, but its answer is not as before on the oboe; instead we hear softly pulsating chords on the kettledrums. This musical pleasure is *sui generis* and indescribable. The habit of words may make us exclaim "how dramatic!" or "what realism!"—which is correct enough—but these notions only single out aspects of something which justifies itself to the ear and the imagination long before it is motivated or classified by reason.

This is again true of another and yet a different surprise, whose material means is still less obvious—the sharpening of the D in the *idée fixe* melody at the end of its exposition in the first movement. Here we cannot apply any conventional adjective, we cannot explain why this modification by a half step is so powerful and right, why it produces a total illumination of its surroundings like a subtly colored flare bringing a landscape out of darkness.

Berlioz' music is full of such moments, which is to say full of creation, unceasingly expressive. And it is this quality, hidden at first, which makes his admirers call him, in the words of Cecil Gray, "simply one of the greatest composers who have ever lived." Compared to this power, which he shares with very few, the art of fashioning clear, strong, and satisfying movements

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appears, for all its importance, ancillary and almost mechanical.

Nor is this the end of our discoveries in Berlioz' music. At many points in his work we encounter passages of which the effect seems more than masterly, for it is visibly out of proportion to the notes. These would be normally transitional or quite commonplace, or at times perversely crude, yet they affect us as would a discharge of energy directly into our nerve endings. This disparity between cause and effect is by no means unknown in the other arts, but in music it is specially remarkable because it seems to act in defiance of the very skill to which the artist usually owes his power. The fact has been noted with particular reference to Berlioz by John Foulds in his book "Music Today," where he explains it by what he calls "devic influences"—from Hindu "devas," the Bright Ones. There is no need to believe in the action of a transcendental force in order to see that the critic has aptly named an element of mundane artistic reality which others have independently noticed and tried to describe. Mr. Foulds gives as an example of what he means the persistent A-flat in the opening of the "Fantastic" symphony, a passage long deemed a typical Berliozian *gaucherie*, although it is the very passage that Koechlin, who probably knows nothing of Devas, instances as a proof of harmonic genius.

We may connect with this "radioactive" property of a few simple notes the experiences noted by Saint-Saëns and others on hearing parts of the "Requiem," as well as Rachmaninoff's report of a performance of the "Fantastique" under Mahler, or Ernst's remark about the concluding chorus of "Les Troyens," Part I, that "the music seems charged with electricity." Berlioz himself was apparently aware of a like quality in Beethoven. He says, speaking of the Scherzo of the Fifth, "It is a strange piece, the first measures of which, although there is nothing fearful about them, cause that inexplicable emotion one feels under the magnetic gaze of certain persons." And he likens the mood to that of Goethe's Blocksberg scene in "Faust," that is, he instinctively thinks of the powers at the root of Being.

When Berlioz found it appropriate in his own scores to call up such emanations from the depths, he was generally able to do so, and it is this rather than any conscious tricks of timbre or dynamics which makes so many of his passages glitter, tingle, throb or—to use his special word—"vibrate." In analyzing our intimate response to Berlioz it is therefore not enough to remember that all music is a trembling and that the inevitable physical by-product of making any music at all is to set up sympathetic vibrations in our nerves, bones, and skin. The further technical question arises whether Berlioz' rationale for blending rhythm, melody, harmony, and timbre precisely as he did, "in despite of common sense," was not dictated by an intuition of what is needed to detonate unsuspected charges of primal energy stored up or concealed within us. If this were so, it would afford another clue to the understanding of Berlioz' public triumphs without sequels. To this day one may observe listeners deeply moved by a brilliant Berlioz performance and yet soon objecting to his art; the audience has been aroused to an uncommon pitch of enthusiasm, but shortly a feeling akin to shame mixed with resentment overlays the first impression. It is as if a too secret fiber had been acted on by a thaumaturgist who is henceforth feared and disliked, or else simply not remembered as having shaken the soul.

FOR THE COMPOSER who wields this power and administers it in concentrated form instead of diffusing it thinly through his works, our genteel responses create a cruel dilemma: if his music is dully played, he makes no impression; if he is brilliantly played, he runs the risk, by overstimulating his hearers, of giving them grounds for grievance. Yet this is a disadvantage which may in time turn out to be his salvation with the fearless, for the primitive, devic, or magnetic force is simply the principle of life imparted by the creator to his clay. If Berlioz' music has survived, not disfigurement merely, and neglect, but also anger and organized attack, it is largely due to the fact that whenever played he has always struck some men as possessing the Promethean fire. "The reason," said the late James Agate, "why I would rather hear the worst Berlioz in preference to the best of anybody else, is that he is the only composer who can be (a) noble, (b) voluptuous, and (c) exciting all at the same time."

This testimony from an amateur of music (and an expert on drama) is all-important, for it is the devoted laity who in the end discover an artist's meaning to the world and so decide his fate. The professionals pave the way—or block it—with arguments and adjectives, but the affectionate minority have the last word, both because they represent numbers and because they are the only group disinterested enough to acknowledge what they inwardly recognize. And what they respond to, given enough good chances, is the quality of funded life. All our critical slang—realism, dramatic truth, form, beauty, variety, tension, devic force, structure, or conception—all this is imagery to catch the manifestation of life as it finds its mysterious equivalent in art: the very terms are derived from our attempt to dissect or describe life, which is also—real, dramatic, structural, multiple, and the fruit of conception. Hence it is no verbalism to relate, as Freud and others have done, the artistic impulse to the magnetic core of life which is love. In defining music as "the imagination of love in sound," that excellent critic, W. J. Turner, was pro-

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ceeding as soberly as the religious thinker who puts love at the center of the world of spirit, or as the mathematician Laplace who, on his deathbed, set love higher than the knowledge of physical laws.

To his enlightened hearers Berlioz' art speaks intimately of the mystery of this trinity of Art, Love, and Life, upon which his own existence was a commentary. Though capable of rendering the many motions of the vital energy, from the dark and diabolical to the bright and heedless, his predominant coloring, as Kufferath rightly pointed out, is the "tragic sadness." In striking this note he convinces us that the love which possessed him was no unanchored eroticism seeking Nirvana, but a strong tenderness alive to the Virgilian *lacrymae rerum*. It was out of this love that his melodies were born first and last, and it was the same loving self that he gave unsparingly to art and to love, in the faith that they were, as he said, "the two wings of the soul."

PORTRAIT OF A CRITIC

BY B. H. HAGGIN

THIS year for the first time the *New Yorker* has had music written about by a professional music critic, and in fact by one of the technically best equipped in the business—Winthrop Sargeant. But unfortunately it has got him fifteen years too late.

It is true that even in 1934-36, when he was writing for the Brooklyn *Eagle*, Sargeant went in for Deep Thinking on Big Questions—for grand schematizations of Music and Art in relation to Society and Culture and Periods of History, or merely of European and American conductors in relation to European and American orchestras; schematizations in which facts, not only facts about Art but the down-to-earth facts of European orchestras and conductors, were given false meanings and relations that made them fit, or were invented for the purpose. I mean the sort of thing in the concluding chapter of his book "Jazz: Hot and Hybrid"—statements that the "improvisatory aspect of jazz is remarkably adapted to the musical needs of a pragmatic, pioneering people" [what about the improvisatory aspect of Hindu music?—B. H. H.], and the jazz musician's syncopated improvisation represents the typical American's individualism [this individualism presumably is represented also in the more usual performance in which three saxophones, three trumpets, and three trombones play a written-out arrangement?]; or that "it is not surprising that a society that has evolved the skyscraper . . . and the 'happy-ending' movie should find its most characteristic musical expression in an art like jazz"—the end of a jazz performance being, according to Sargeant, as inconclusive, really, as the "indefinite upward thrust" of the American skyscraper and the happy ending of the American movie, and all three representing the typical American's dislike of endings because "he is an incurable progressive" who prefers not to think of "doom and destiny," and so on.

But that was mostly on Sundays. And on most weekdays the seriousness which made him go in for this philosophically pretentious writing and prefer the similarly pretentious music of Wagner, Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler, also operated in relation to the concerts he reported on, and produced reviews which, whenever I reread them, move me each time by their solid competence and rich perception. It operated also in a few articles on Toscanini, under whom Sargeant had played a couple of years in the New York Philharmonic; and I will always be grateful to him for the increased understanding they gave me of Toscanini's method and results.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED since then is that Sargeant has been a writer for *Time* and *Life*, for whom his addiction to wrapping the human world up in little packages made him a natural. Some of these packages are to be found in the recent volume of articles reprinted from *Life*,* where Sargeant in recent years has functioned as staff meditator on human affairs (*e.g.*, "The man of the eye

*"Geniuses, Goddesses, and People." By Winthrop Sargeant. E. P. Dutton & Co. $3.50.

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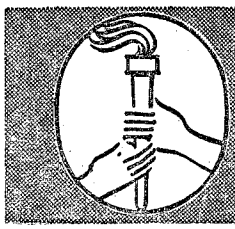
seeks simplicity and originality in his surroundings, while the man of the ear seeks convention and respectability"). The articles also represent him as a *Time-Life*-style entertainer: he has meditated on the Human Comedy out of the corner of his mouth. And writing in this derisive manner about musicians' activities he has confirmed millions of *Life* readers in their indulgently contemptuous notion of musicians as a special group of freaks. One of the worst articles of this kind—about what goes on backstage at the Metropolitan—has not been reprinted in the volume; but another, the one on Toscanini, is included.

This article has some of the material of Sargeant's *Eagle* articles on Toscanini—which was why I recommended it to *Nation* readers when it appeared in *Life*, and why I was surprised to hear Toscanini had disliked it. Rereading it now I can understand why he disliked it: in the *Eagle* Sargeant was a serious critic writing a portrait of Toscanini which treated him as a serious man and artist; for the readers of *Life* he was an entertainer who changed the man and artist to a "character" by changing the portrait to a caricature. The *Eagle* material was elaborated and livened up in the style to which *Life* readers are accustomed (in the *Eagle* Toscanini's ability to give organic unity to whole operas was illustrated by "such things as his 'Traviata' and 'Rigoletto'—let alone his 'Tristan' "; in *Life* by his performance of "a creaky old-fashioned opera like 'Trovatore' or 'Lucia' "); and new material was added in the same exaggerating, distorting, and cheapening style and tone ("Catlike in his fastidiousness, Toscanini reacts physically to every sound, seeming almost to purr with responsiveness or to lay his ears back in apprehension over what is going on. . . .")

MUCH of this new material is inaccurate. Describing the beginning of a rehearsal, Sargeant says that "Toscanini glances quickly over the assembled orchestra and, without further preamble, the baton descends like the knife of a guillotine." In the rehearsals I have attended since 1942 I have seen Toscanini say good morning, wait for the orchestra to get set, and "without further preamble" begin to conduct; but I



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have more often seen him do what he did on March 2, when, after his good morning he picked up the score of Tchaikovsky's "Pathetique," found the fourth measure after letter M in the third movement, explained to the flutes and clarinets that in this measure he wanted them to break off the held G sharp in order to attack the descending scale with an accent, had them do it for him a few times, found the similar measure at letter Z and had the strings and woodwinds play it in the same way, then only began to conduct the movement from the beginning, but stopped after the second measure because the strings had not been precisely together, began again, stopped again, told the violas: "You make the bow jump too high" (illustrating by bouncing his baton on his finger), began again and —the violas now being precisely together with the violins—went on, but stopped after the third measure to tell the oboes and bassoons they were not playing an accurate two against the other woodwinds' three, got the measure played correctly, etc. And in all this he also demonstrated the incorrectness of one of Sargeant's major contentions not only in *Life* but in the *Eagle* —that Toscanini doesn't use with an orchestra the explanatory technique of other conductors; that where they "will describe what they wish to obtain and the method to be pursued in achieving it, Toscanini will produce the effect . . . by setting up in the player's consciousness an emotional reaction which automatically produces it." He may use such methods too, but there isn't a rehearsal without its explanations and discussions with the first-desk string players of changes in bowing that will produce the phrasing or accentuation or lack of accentuation he wants.

In the *Eagle* Sargeant reported an incident which a friend had reported to him—of Toscanini stopping a performance of Verdi's Requiem in Milan to glare at two members of the chorus who had whispered to each other. In the *Life* article he cites the incident—with no mention of its having been told to him by a friend—as a spectacular illustration of some newly introduced generalizations: "To cow or punish a recalcitrant player he will coolly create a scene that may disturb the whole course of a concert. . . . When latecomers disturb the beginning of a symphony by rattling their seats or their programs, the maestro will stop the whole performance to turn around and glare at them until they are quiet." The factual basis for these generalizations doesn't include a single "incident" of this kind that I have myself witnessed or been told about in the last twenty-five years; and indeed nothing is more extraordinary to me than the contrast between the lack of self-control at rehearsals and the iron self-discipline Toscanini is able to maintain at concerts in the face of provoking mistakes by the musicians and annoyances from the audience. The commotion at the opening "Fidelio" of the 1937 Salzburg Festival—caused by the presence of the Windsors—was such that I expected him to stop and walk out; but he didn't. And in the most recent performance of Verdi's Requiem, when Herva Nelli lost contact with the chorus in pitch it would have been legitimate to stop and begin the section again; but he went on. Maybe it did happen that one time in Milan; or maybe it happened only in a memory and mind that seem to be creatively imaginative for Sargeant's purposes as an entertainer.

THE *Time-Life* style and tone persist in the recent criticism (". . . the dramatic force that a fine ballerina can get into the flick of a toe or the graceful crook of an arm"). What gives him the reassurance that he is nevertheless a serious critic is his continuing to deal with music in terms of schematizations: in his view he is serious about the only thing worth being serious about. By now he is, he says, "a crotchety and jaded listener" who "find[s] difficulty in sitting through . . . a Beethoven symphony"; he is, I would say, also a crotchety and jaded critic who no longer finds it important or even possible to do what E. M. Forster has described as the task of the critic—namely, to consider the particular object and report what he perceives in it; what Sargeant thinks worth doing—and what he does—when presented with the particular object is to make it the occasion for one of his cherished schematizations.

If it is a Tchaikovsky sympony, then he has defined The Symphony by the characteristics of the particular philosophically grandiose and monumental symphony of the nineteenth-century Germans, and by this definition Tchaikovsky's are not real symphonies (to the suggestion that the definition would rule out Haydn's too he answers, nodding solemnly: "Maybe; maybe"). If it is Berlioz, he has worked out a definition of originality by which Berlioz isn't really original at all (and is unmoved by the suggestion that the deficiency may be not in Berlioz but in the definition). If it is a book on the romantic period by Dr. Alfred Einstein —which actual reading led Charles B. Farrell to report was full of fantastic assertions and almost completely undocumented—it is for Sargeant what, by formula, a book by a German scholar must be: "a heavily documented, scholarly study."

One recent article by Sargeant—the one in the *New Yorker* on Schönberg —was a superb performance. It demonstrated the error in subjecting music to Schönberg's particular aesthetic system-grinding; and it had implications about Sargeant's own aesthetic system-grinding that he seems to be unaware of.

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Making of the Orchestra

THE ORCHESTRA FROM BEETHOVEN TO BERLIOZ. By Adam Carse. Broude Brothers. $7.50.

MR. CARSE'S book is a history of the orchestra during the first half of the last century. It was a fascinating time in the development of that body: the period during which its constitution and strength became stabilized; the period of the invention and rise of baton conducting; the period in which the printed orchestral score appears. It was the time during which the wind instruments were rebuilt; of the invention of valves; of the final changes in the violin. The pupal age of the modern concert orchestra and concert-giving organization; the age during which the music that still forms the core of the "standard repertory" was written.

In 1800 the orchestra was still, in many important respects, closer to Bach than to Berlioz. The continuo instrument, piano or harpsichord, survived as a regular member. Direction was the divided responsibility of the keyboard performer—usually the composer himself, or the *Kapellmeister*, in nominal charge of the performance—and the first violinist. There were no printed scores, except occasionally of an opera; the first known engraved score of a symphony (Haydn's No. 57) was issued in Paris by Leduc in 1801. Outside the largest centers the constitution of the wind band remained somewhat problematical. The average size of an orchestra was much nearer thirty than fifty. It was, of course, primarily an adjunct of the opera; except in Paris and London concerts were still, for the most part, virtually a kind of chamber music.

By 1850 the piano had retired into limbo, even in the opera pit. The conductor stood before the band, waving his wand with his right hand, and turning the leaves of his score with his left. The leader (concertmaster) now led only the first violins. Trumpets were no longer drawn from the nearest drum and bugle corps, or trombones from the neighboring bishopric. A respectable concert orchestra numbered sixty or more. True, in Germany the English horn and double-action harp were practically unknown; in France the double bassoon was regarded as a sort of mythical beast. True, anywhere the back rows of fiddlers were apt to be unpredictable. With a single conspicuous exception, the Gewandhaus concerts in Leipzig, every major European orchestra depended on an opera house for its livelihood—a state of affairs that prevailed into the present century—and concert-giving was still a mere side-line. But with the establishment of the Philharmonic Society (1813) in London and the epoch-making Conservatoire Concerts (1828) in Paris, the modern concert was off to a brave start. In Jullien the virtuoso conductor had already appeared, while the conductor of whose readings one says, "It's Koussevitzky—but is it Mozart?" was standing poised in the wings. Not very surprisingly, he was Wagner.

Such, in opuscule, was the period Mr. Carse chronicles. The book itself I can only describe as astonishing. Mr. Carse knows everything worth knowing about the orchestras of the early nineteenth century, and he has put it all down, simply and beautifully, between the covers of one volume. His method is to let the contemporary musicians, critics, and journalists say in their own words what they knew, thought, and felt about the orchestras of their day, interposing only to tie up a loose thread, add an illustration, or provide a summary. Besides the orchestras themselves, their triumphs and declines, their virtues and faults, we learn about the men who composed them. From Tulou, the great Paris flautist with the inspired name, to the triangle player at Covent Garden—all are here. The instruments on which they played, the music from which they read, the conditions under which they worked—all here. Their conductors, and how they conducted—all here. To anybody interested in the orchestra it is a fundamental book.

It should also be required reading for every symphonic board of directors, for if a history can teach anything, this one proves that the conditions which produce good orchestral performances are always the same, whether they occur in 1800, 1850—or 1950. And it rams home the truth that, beyond all other considerations the quality of the conductor determines the ultimate quality of the performance. I must cite one striking example.

During the long regime (1820-42) of Spontini, who was a cast-iron martinet, the Berlin royal orchestra was one of the finest in Europe—when Spontini was conducting it. But under assistant conductors, "in smaller and routine performances it was slack and no better than plenty of others in Germany." It gave the easy-going Mendelssohn a hard time during his brief stay in 1841, and under the lax control of Meyerbeer (1842-47) it declined noticeably, though it was just as capable of excellent playing whenever somebody like Berlioz or Wagner had the strength of will to require it.

Mr. Carse has made the orchestra and its mysteries his own personal happy hunting ground, and I would like to mention his other books on the subject. None of them have been published in this country, and they deserve a wider audience than just the academic carriage trade. The present volume forms a continuation of "The Orchestra in the XVIIIth Century" (Cambridge: Heffer, 1940), which collects with similar thoroughness the scattered evidence from the preceding century. "The History of Orchestration" (London: Kegan

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FROM THE TABLE OF CONTENTS

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The Will for Justice
Perhaps Tomorrow. — Why Socialism?
The Negro Question
Freedom, Inner and Outward
Morals and Emotions
Thoughts at a School Celebration
Science and Religion
Towards a World Government
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Paul, 1925) is in a sense a complementary study, recording the progress of the orchestra from the evidence of the written score. It is the standard work in English. Finally, "Musical Wind Instruments" (London: Macmillan, 1939) is, on the high authority of Nicholas Bessaraboff, "the best book on the wind instruments extant." Together, they form one of the most distinguished achievements in modern musical research.

CHARLES B. FARRELL

Two Poles of Modern Musical Thought

SCHOENBERG AND HIS SCHOOL. By René Leibowitz. Translated by Dika Newlin. Philosophical Library. $4.75.

IGOR STRAVINSKY. The Man and His Music. By Alexandre Tansman. Translated from the French by Therese and Charles Bleefield. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.75.

WITH acrid dissonance and exotic sonority so much a part of our daily musical experience on every level, and with academic canon in complete disrepute, one would suppose that the great controversies centering around the musical innovators of the early 1900's had resulted in a rather decisive victory for the innovators. Yet the controversy around Schoenberg goes on, occasionally fanned into white heat by the atonalists' sharp insistence that Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern are the only significant composers of our time, and that in the twelve-tone system exists the only contemporary method of composition presenting any possibility for true creation. To this controversy Mr. Leibowitz's book is a welcome contribution. Handling complex ideas in a lucid, fluent prose, admirably translated by Dr. Newlin and bearing the implicit sanction of Schoenberg himself, Mr. Liebowitz presents his argument for the twelve-tone school with a clarity and fervor which should make his book the authoritative work on this subject.

The first part contains an analysis of musical history in the light of its "ineluctable" evolution to the "Schoenbergian universe"; this then serves as the basis for a detailed critical analysis of all the major works of Schoenberg and his two most important disciples, Berg and Webern. But the validity of all this analysis must stand or fall on Mr. Leibowitz's philosophic and aesthetic orientation, and this, I fear, will be a large dose for most readers.

For we are presented with an elaborate dialectical structure, carefully erected in a remarkable world not unfamiliar to readers of German philosophy—a world in which metaphor becomes reality and concept becomes entity, complete with the dynamic of a living organism and imbued with the power of agency. Thus, music is a "world," in which its elements "submit" to laws in a "system" quite as real and relentless as any temporal system of government. The system is "born," evolves as an organic species, sows "seeds of its own destruction," and finally "dies," killed by "death-rays" which pierce its "inner shell." With this dialectical apparatus, and aided by a method familiar to many historians who have a theory to prove of including only such events of history as fit the argument, and misrepresenting others, Mr. Leibowitz is able to show that the appearance of the twelve-tone system was inevitable and "ineluctable"—it could never have been otherwise. This system having been thus ordained by history, it became the moral duty of every composer first to discover, then to use it. And Schoenberg, as its discoverer, is easily the greatest composer of the age.

Continuing with this Hegelian thinking, we can infer that since all history is progress, and since (to Leibowitz) the acquisition of new musical material and the breaking down of limits invariably enrich music's means of expression, Schoenberg and his two disciples are the greatest composers of all time. One of Mr. Leibowitz's many footnotes confirms this projected reasoning: "One might well say . . . , 'When you have learned to appreciate a melody of Webern, all others, beautiful though they may be, are just so much marshmallow-whip in comparison.'" This manifest and even philistine absurdity brings us to the deep end of specious reasoning. From here on it is difficult to leave unchallenged almost any statement in the book without accepting some oft repeated concepts of questionable value: harmony for its own sake (!), tonal limitations as hampering artistic expression, perpetual development as superior to repetition, counterpoint that should "*be*" counterpoint (one would suppose that it should *be* music) and so forth.

I doubt that American admirers of Schoenberg will take kindly to Mr. Leibowitz's high-flown metaphysics, but that need not affect their belief in Schoenberg's musical genius. Others, however, might find here corroboration of a suspicion that in remaining unresponsive to Schoenberg's music they are missing nothing. Indeed, by simply applying the proposition that evolution evolves but does not necessarily progress, those who see in the last hundred years of German music a steady decline might well use Mr. Leibowitz's own dialectics to show that Schoenberg is the ultimate in a long process of decadence. After which, inevitably (though not ineluctably) Hitler and the annihilation of German culture.

An excellent antidote to Schoenberg's romantic-idealist philosophy will be found in the first section of Tansman's book, that dealing with Stravinsky's crea-

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tive and aesthetic attitudes. We find him at the outset of his career viewing the current romantic and impressionist trends as of decadence and even disintegration, wherein music, in attempting to become all things to all men, served not itself but literature, drama, philosophy, and anything else. Believing in the will of the artist as supreme over his materials, and unsaddled with any historical mission, Stravinsky simply turned his back upon his own immediate heritage and sought a return to the classic ideal of a formal, autonomous music, seeking to express nothing but itself, and whose very existence was its only raison d'être. This was not an easy task; Stravinsky's heritage, like any other's, was romanticism; to break from it meant nothing less than revision of his entire mode of thinking and feeling. Tansman describes how Stravinsky worked his way toward his goal, step by step, rejecting and consolidating, with an uncompromising purposefulness which gave the entire body of his work a remarkable unity, despite the variety of method.

After reading Leibowitz, we see clearly in these pages the differences in aesthetic which place Schoenberg and Stravinsky at opposite poles: Schoenberg's fear of tonal limitations as inhibiting—Stravinsky's welcoming them as liberating; Schoenberg's insistence upon musical language as a highly personal, individual possession, of no concern to the listener—Stravinsky's view of it as public domain, much as spoken language, subject to rules and conventions without which there could be no communication; Schoenberg's choice of instrumentation as a means to achieve effects necessary to a preconceived end—Stravinsky's regarding of the timbre and limitations of each instrument as a stimulus to creation and a problem to be solved, whereby the size and choice of one's ensemble can depend on any number of things, including mundane economics; Schoenberg's preoccupation with the linking of music to speech and drama—Stravinsky's refusal to sacrifice one iota of music's autonomy to any other art.

The second half of Tansman's book is a chronological résumé of all of Stravinsky's works with a critical analysis of the more important ones—a considerable undertaking, for the output has been large. Whatever its value as criticism, and I found it rather dull, repetitious, and abstruse, though with occasional sharp insights, it is a valuable reference work, containing the dates, circumstances, and particular problems of each work, with its place in Stravinsky's development. It should be noted in conclusion that despite its title the book reveals much of Stravinsky the musician but little of the man.

Each of these books contains a complete list of works and publishers, and an index.

HAROLD BROWN

Chopin Centennial

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CHOPIN. By Casimir Wierzynski. Simon and Schuster. $3.75.

FREDERIC CHOPIN. Edited by Stephen P. Mizwa. The Macmillan Company. $3.

NOTES ON CHOPIN. By André Gide. Philosophical Library. $3.75.

THE centennial of Chopin's death, 1949, brought only a mechanical homage, and homage was all it brought—no controversy, no revaluation, no excitement whatsoever.

Casimir Wierzynski's book, for an example, neither redesigns nor strengthens but rather reupholsters earlier Chopin biography. In some respects it does rather less than that. The list of this biographer's interests is not imposing. Instead of musical analysis he offers the vague appreciations of a casual listener; instead of psychological analysis, an external narrative of concerts and love affairs. What we learn about Chopin's personality comes from his own words: the quoted letters are allowed to speak for themselves, and they say a great deal; but the biographer has nothing to add to what the uninformed reader can see for himself. Psychological speculation appears only where custom has made it unavoidable, in the discussion of the notorious liaison with George Sand; and in this overrun hunting ground Wierzynski's performance is hesitant and naive. With such omissions the book can scarcely be called a major success. For some serious readers it will even seem largely irrelevant to its subject. Its relevance and its modest success lie in a romantically imaginative method of social history, in a kind of textural reconstruction of the Polish countryside, the elegance of the Parisian salons, the horrors of the tour of Scotland.

These are pleasing rather than powerful vignettes, but within their range they add a solid third dimension to the familiar narrative. The account of Chopin's boyhood is engaging in its old-fashioned, affectionate enjoyment of genius at play. There is, to be sure, the usual vulgar insistence on boisterous

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normality—not as something one is glad that Chopin could enjoy but as something for his admirers to take pride in. The description of the Parisian salons, through its sense of participating in—not to mention being impressed by—the actual brilliant events, gave me a new understanding of the subtly balanced proportions of private and public emotion in those pieces which, deep within the brilliant wordliness, withhold their final secret from public view. On the other hand, Wierzynski's warm nostalgia for the country festivals that Chopin must have seen is too crude a feeling to bear much relationship to the odd variations of tone in the Mazurkas. Yet even here the author's warmth and good-will manage somehow to balance the lack of imagination and insight. The method of the whole book is pretty much hit and miss, depending I should judge on the coincidence of the writer's own experience with Chopin's. We can be grateful for the hits, and for the rest the rare sincerity of homage is some recompense.

One of Wierzynski's leading concerns is shared by the majority of the writers contributing to Stephen Mizwa's memorial volume—the conviction that a great artist shares and articulates the national temperament of his people. I am struck by a disproportion between the calm firmness of the conviction and the timidity of the arguments with which it is advanced. It is a belief gone underground. In the nineteenth century and before, the notion of national temperament was perfectly respectable and enormously exciting. In Dryden it served as an instrument for literary criticism, in Arnold as a sort of classroom method, in Dostoevski as a powerful device for his Old Testament-like prophecy. For all of them it was a way of thinking exploited with enthusiasm, in a hearty ignorance of sociological cavils; for us it is vindicated by the insights it made possible. The current nationalistic criticism of Chopin, on the contrary, is guarded, apprehensive, and servile in its respect for demonstrability. Chopin's Polishness is found now to consist only in certain rhythmic figures, some non-western intervals, in "a passing note, stranger to the conventional major-minors, which evokes an austere Dorian harmony, a mode used in a tenth-century chant, sung later by Polish warriors in battle"—scanty gleanings indeed, and you may be sure nothing has been missed. Yet the rules of the scholarly game having been complied with, we are now allowed to mount, with triumphant incongruity, to the solemn conclusion: Chopin is the most Polish of Polish composers. Some of the outdated extravagance about a [illegible] spirit would convince us more [illegible] embarrass us far less.

I have postponed discussion of the Gide book till last because it might so easily, by virtue of a highly personalized method, have been the best of the three: my intention is to emphasize the fact that it is not. The development of my attitude toward it may be of interest. I was at first puzzled, then infuriated, finally bored. In the beginning I found its virtues curiously elusive; after pious incredulity had passed, I found its faults unusually obvious. The first fault is a great insufficiency of matter. The book is thin almost to the point of invisibility. The other is an excessive archness of manner. And there doesn't seem to be anything else.

In all fairness to these slight observations, it must be admitted that they manage to present the outline of a total image of Chopin. For me it is an emasculated one. Underestimating the sturdiness of the structures, the solidity of the harmonic floor, and the tensile strength of the figurations, Gide likes the music of Chopin "to be spoken in an undertone, almost in a murmur, without any brilliance (I except, obviously, certain dashing pieces, including most of the *scherzos* and *polonaises*), without that unbearable assurance of the virtuoso." To the exhibitionism from which we have all suffered this melodramatic shyness is a blind reaction. Gide would turn the concert hall into a confessional, and indeed his whole attitude betrays the disrespectful curiosity of the devotee: he would invade the privacy of his shy god as quickly as the virtuosos.

Chopin's music voices a very touching private emotion, but in the accents of a sophisticated urban culture. His own preference of the salon to the concert hall proves if anything the subtlety of his conventional devices. The particular pleasure his music affords is in being personally moved, and very deeply and intimately, by a secret emotion at the heart of a fashionable art form. This emotion need not be hidden from the public, nor need it be pressed on them in a thrilling undertone. Chopin himself has effected the correct balance, and it is perhaps his greatest achievement. The place to find it is in the score, so carefully annotated by the composer, so carelessly neglected in performance. And Gide's attack on the virtuosos would be more impressive did he not share their real contempt for the composer's instructions. It is amusing to fol-

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low the gyrations of argument by which *agitato* at the head of the first Prelude is proved to mean that the piece should be played "very casually; no strife should be felt in it, no effort." But then every prophet makes his own god.

ROBERT E. GARIS

Books in Brief

THE EDUCATION OF A CONCERT-GOER. By Homer Ulrich. Dodd, Mead. $4. The intention of Mr. Ulrich's book is to brief the interested but untutored concert-goer in those musical facts of life to be found—according to the blurb—"neither in the conventional books on music appreciation nor in the more technical reference books." Actually, much of the material is standard "appreciation" stuff—sketchy history, elementary facts about notation, scores, instruments, and like things. In common with the more conventional appreciation books, Mr. Ulrich's work exhibits the usual writing-down and oversimplification to the point of irresponsibility. The historical and critical portions are inadequate by any standard—such a story as how the viola got into the string quartet has about the same relationship to musical history that "The Elephant's Child" has to anthropology. What is novel in Mr. Ulrich's book is its attempt to display the professional musician at work; its best-written and most interesting portions, although they are not entirely free from disingenuousness, are those which discuss the mechanics of program planning, financing an orchestral season, and operating the union. C. B. F.

JOSEPH HAYDN: HIS ART, TIMES, AND GLORY. By H. E. Jacob. Rinehart. $5. Mr. Jacob has a reasonably sound command of the facts of Haydn's life, but he has virtually buried them in a torrent of sentimental gush entirely the product of his imagination. The net result is a wildly distorted caricature of Haydn's personality and of the milieu in which he lived. The persevering reader can pick up an occasional detail omitted by Karl Geiringer from his recent biography—for example, a summary of the compositions written during the first London visit—but otherwise Dr. Geiringer's book is altogether preferable. The discussions of Haydn's music are worthless. Mr. Jacob serves it up smothered in the same treacle that covers the life. The too numerous elementary mistakes indicate that he is not equipped to deal with the music on a responsible technical level. In addition, he suffers from a number of aberrations. He makes, for example, the preposterous claim that "when Haydn took possession of the symphony in order to reform it, he stripped it of the last relics of its theatrical origins. Every memory that the symphony had ever been allied with the drama was obliterated, etc., etc." We also find Mr. Jacob intoning, with his own improvements, the Invention of the Symphony According to Saint Hugo, in blissful unawareness that Riemann's version was torpedoed once and for all in 1930 by Fausto Torrefranca. C. B. F.

SIXTY POEMS OF SCEVE. With Introduction, Translation, and Comment by Wallace Fowlie. The Swallow Press–Morrow. $3. These sixty poems of Maurice Scève, from the first half of the sixteenth century, are arresting and interesting, up to a point; after that their conventions tend to become tedious. Sixty dizains from the original 449 are quite enough. Mr. Fowlie's introduction is helpful in interpreting the poet and the climate in which he lived. Below the poems, on the left-hand side of the page, Mr. Fowlie has set literal prose translations. These suffice, though it is a bit of a shock to find "which always causes to appear/she [*sic*] in whom the spirit of my life rests." On the facing, or right-hand, page Mr. Fowlie has added commentary on the poem opposite. His remarks are succinct and lucid; occasionally also they sound not only didactic but impatient, as if Mr. Fowlie were pressed for time as well as space, and were telling his students that they'd better get the idea the first time, and no nonsense about it. The book, like the firm's previous edition of the poems of Wyatt, is handsomely made. R. H.

CONTRIBUTORS

JACQUES BARZUN is professor of history at Columbia University. He is the author of "Darwin, Marx, Wagner" and other books.

CHARLES B. FARRELL has written a number of reviews of music books for *The Nation.*

HAROLD BROWN is a composer who has contributed occasional reviews to these pages.

ROBERT E. GARIS, music critic, is a graduate student at Harvard University.

Letters to the Editors

"La Frutera's" Record

Dear Sirs: In Democracy in Latin America: Chaos on Our Doorstep [*The Nation*, January 28] Ovidio Gondi reviews the scene in the five Central American republics, which he thinks have been neglected by the press and public opinion of this country. Central America, he says, is unstable and backward but has untapped wealth and is capable of developing substantial markets and a decent standard of living. In listing the reasons for backwardness, he mentions "control by outside capital interests" and notes that an adequate plan for the development of power, agriculture, and mining could raise the standard of living but that of course that would be opposed by politicians and foreign investors.

In his discussion of Honduras, Mr. Gondi seems to point to United Fruit Company as a "foreign investor" hostile to the development of agriculture. He states that the United Fruit Company owns 900 miles of railroad in Honduras and controls the other principal means of transportation, as well as port facilities; that during World War II when banana cultivation was reduced disorders occurred and bitterness developed against foreign companies; that when the company in 1943 abandoned the region between Puerto Castilla and Puerto de la Ceiba, where the company railway was the only way the people had to reach their markets, the people felt their situation was so desperate that they lay down on the tracks to prevent them from being torn up; and that the company then sought the aid of government troops, which swung into action and killed several peasants.

This recital was a distortion of the facts. There is no 900-mile railroad in Honduras. A substantial portion of the railroad mileage in that country is

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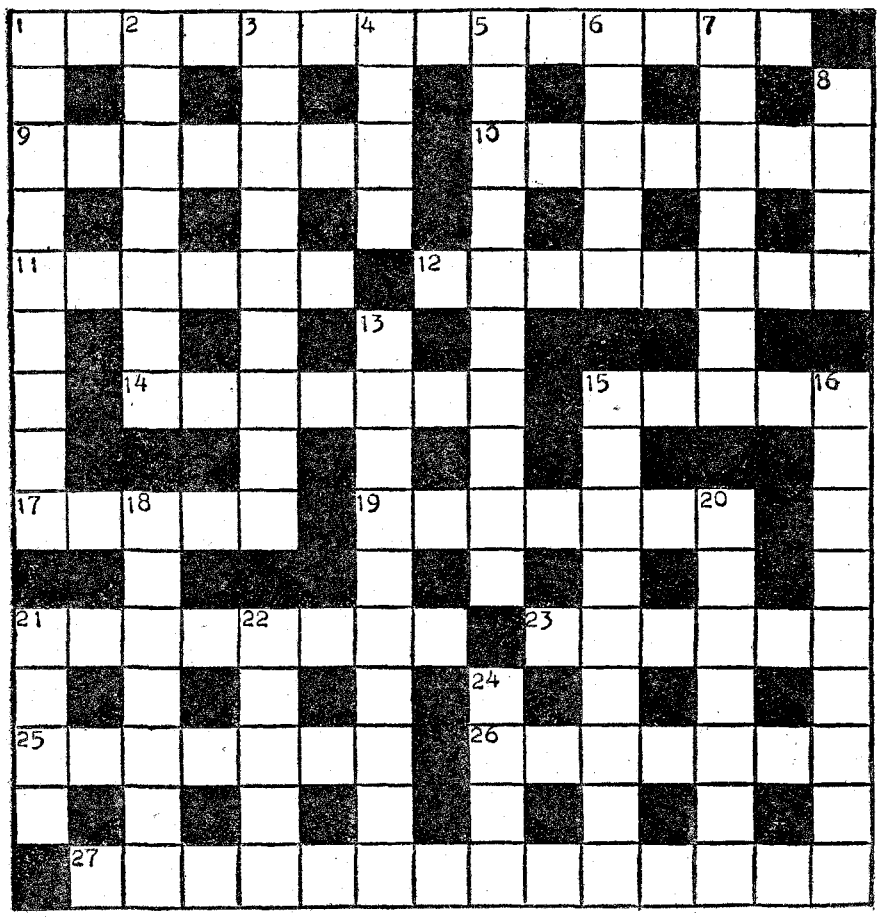
Crossword Puzzle No. 355

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 S'habillant. (6, 8)
9 and 21 across. D I R E C T ? (7, 2, 6)
10 A hard blow. (7)
11 Visionary? (6)
12 Not a native tiger-man. (8)
14 The act of striking-out. (7)
15 Check on Jock. (5)
17 Drain the bottom. (5)
19 U. S. and England are great ones for magazines. (7)
21 See 9.
23 Does a good one imply a happy medium? (6)
25 It's probably not important, but it once meant "belonging to the cross-roads." (7)
26 Make allowances for soldier or saint. (7)
27 If they are underlings, the fault lies with themselves and not their stars. (6, 8)

DOWN

1 Abou loved his. (9)
2 Thrust out. (7)
3 Charlie is my darling, the young one! (9)
4 Stroke is in front of you when you steer. (4)
5 State mines and French public houses. (10)
6 Quiet carpet? (5)
7 Falls like a white grape. (7)
8 See 22.
13 Beets and winter wheat complete their lives thus. (10)
15 Cromwell took the name of the Lord —not in vain. (9)
16 Dresses a soldier up inside it. (9)
18 Refuse to get worse. (7)
20 Offends in parting. (4–3)
21 Darn! A mild one indeed! (4)
22 and 8. The oil our statesmen refined. (5, 4)
24 Most important part of the foot. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 354

ACROSS:—1 VULNERABLE; 6 CLUB; 12 DIEHARDS; 13 ADDLE; 25 AMEER; 17 ELECTORAL; 19 FORETASTE; 21 ENDOW; 23 IRAQI; 24 and 9 THE SMOKE OF BATTLE; 28 TIGHTLY; 29 RIGA; 30 BIOLOGISTS.

DOWN:—1 VANE; 2 LATTICE; 3 EARTH; 4, 11, 27, 10 AS LARGE AS LIFE AND TWICE AS NATURAL; 5 LULLS; 7 LEANDER; 8 BEDFELLOWS; 14 HALF SISTER; 16 RETAINER; 18 ELEMENTAL; 20 READING; 22 DAKOTAS; 24 TOSTI; 25 MAGOG; 26 DYES.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

owned by a competitive company. The United Fruit Company does not control the other principal means of transportation (air, bus, and truck), and the port facilities are open to all. Certainly the shipment of bananas during World War II was reduced, but there were no serious disorders directed against foreign companies. In cooperation with the Department of State and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, the United Fruit Company continued to pay its farm workers current wages. It did not abandon any region in 1943; it never called for government troops, and there was no killing of peasants. In previous years the company had given up its Truxillo Division because banana cultivation there had been destroyed by fungus infection of the soil, for which there was no known remedy. This was done by agreement with the government of Honduras, and the railroad was converted into a highway by the company; many valuable buildings, houses, port facilities, and other installations were turned over to the state.

From Honduras Mr. Gondi passes to Guatemala to report that in 1949 a tense situation arose when 15,000 employees of the United Fruit Company demanded higher wages, a minimum of $1.20 to $1.35 per day as against the 90 cents paid previously. The company, he says, refused the increase, the government decided to submit the dispute to a court of arbitration, and after long negotiations a compromise award was handed down and accepted. The fact is that there was no dispute between the company and its 15,000 banana workers; there was a conflict between the company and approximately 2,000 stevedores at Puerto Barrios in the course of which efforts were made to involve the banana workers. The farm workers, already receiving wages equal to or greater than those cited, refused to strike.

Mr. Gondi has given the impression that the United Fruit Company is an obstacle to progress in Central America. The evidence is against him. Here is the testimony of a few impartial observers:

Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in commenting a year ago on President Truman's Point Four program, said:

Already notable steps have been undertaken by a number of industrial companies which have been convinced that their long-term profitable business in rel-

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atively undeveloped areas is closely linked to the improvement in the living standards of the populations of these countries . . . hence we see skilful programs in progress by such companies as United Fruit . . . not only to raise wages but more importantly to apply the most modern arts of medicine and public health, soil utilization, seed selection, and agricultural technique, education and recreation, for improving the health, prosperity and morale of the peoples with whom they deal.

Milo Perkins, war-time director of the Board of Economic Warfare, wrote in *Harper's* for December, 1949:

Nevertheless there are some foretastes of what Point Four might be like in so far as American private investment in other countries is concerned. [Those who have been critical of the past activities of American companies operating in foreign lands—and often with good reason—would be surprised if they could go abroad today and see what some leading American concerns are doing for people in other countries. . . .]

In the agricultural field, the United Fruit Company has done a really outstanding job of producing fruits in the Caribbean area which are marketed chiefly in the United States. Wages on the United Fruit plantations are considerably above those in the surrounding areas. Food prices have been subsidized at plantation stores to keep them close to pre-war levels.

The workers and their families enjoy a degree of medical care, educational opportunity, and improved housing which represents very real progress for people in the countries where "La Frutera" operates. United Fruit is making money all right, but if it weren't it couldn't afford to give its workers a standard of living several hundred per cent above the levels that exist in the same countries for other workers.

If space permitted, like testimony from other observers could be added to the above.

SAMUEL ZEMURRAY,
President, United Fruit Company
New Orleans, March 2

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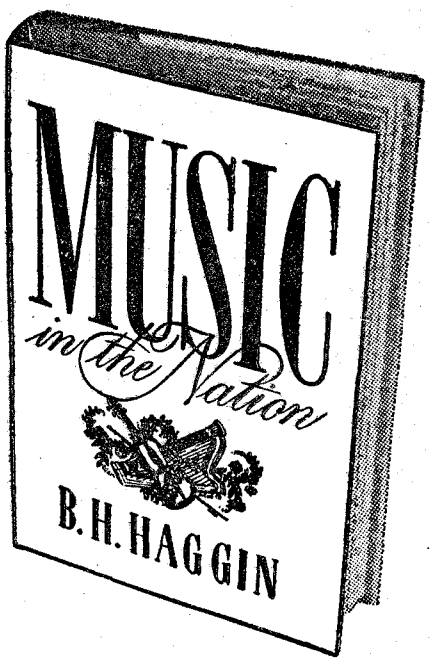

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